



Artha Shastra

By Kautilya

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BOOK 1: ON THE SUBJECT OF TRAINING

Chapter 1: The Enumeration of the Topics and Books

1. This single treatise on the Science of Politics has been prepared for the most part by bringing together all those treatises on the Science of Politics which have been composed by former teachers for the acquisition and protection of the earth.
2. This is its enumeration of topics and books.
3. The enumeration of sciences, association with elders, the conquest of the senses, the creation of ministers, the creation of councillors and priests, the ascertainment of the purity or impurity of ministers by means of secret tests, the creation of secret agents, the watch over the conduct of partisans for or against one's own cause in one's own state, the winning over of partisans for or against the enemy's cause in the enemy's state, the business of council, the mission of envoys, the protection of princes, the conduct of a prince in disfavour, the treatment of a prince in disfavour, the king's conduct, the conduct in the king's residence, the protection of his own person — thus the First Book: On the Subject of Training.
4. The establishment of the countryside, the bringing of land under cultivation, the construction of forts, the layout of the fort, the supervision of the accumulated stores in the treasury, the setting in motion of the collection of revenue by the Administrator-General, the office of the Director of Accounts in the accounts-office, the recovery of what is misappropriated by officials, the examination of the conduct of officials, the promulgation of edicts, the examination of gems to be entered into the treasury, the carrying on of mining operations and manufactures, the Superintendent of Gold in the workshop, the activity of the state goldsmith in the market, the Superintendent of the Storehouse, the Superintendent of Commerce, the Superintendent of Forest Produce, the Superintendent of the Armoury, the standardisation of weights and measures, the measurement of space and time, the

Superintendent of Tolls, the Superintendent of Yarn, the Superintendent of Agriculture, the Superintendent of Liquor, the Superintendent of the Slaughter-house, the Superintendent of Prostitutes, the Superintendent of Ships, the Superintendent of Cattle, the Superintendent of Horses, the Superintendent of Elephants, the Superintendent of Chariots, the Superintendent of Infantry, the activity of the Commander-in-Chief, the Superintendent of Seals and Passports, the Superintendent of Pasturelands, the activity of the Administrator-General, the instituting of spies in the guise of householders, merchants and ascetics, the duties of the City-Superintendent — thus the Second Book: The Activity of the Heads of Departments.

5. The establishment of law, the determination of the subject of a legal dispute, marriage-law, division of inheritance, buildings, non-performance of agreements, recovery of debts, deposits, slaves and labourers, co-operative undertakings, rescission of purchase and sale, resumption of gifts, sale without ownership, ownership, robbery, verbal injury, assault, dicing and betting, and miscellaneous topics — thus the Third Book: Concerning Law.
6. The protection of artisans, the protection of merchants, remedies against national calamities, suppression of the wicked, detection of criminals with the help of spies, apprehending a suspect on the evidence of the deed, examination of a person who has died a sudden death, interrogation and torture, protection of all departments, punishment for mutilating a limb, determination of punishment for simple and grave hurt, intercourse with an immature girl, and punishments for transgressions — thus the Fourth Book: The Removal of Thorns.
7. Concerning the conduct of courtiers, the replenishment of the treasury, the payment of servants, the conduct of a dependent, what is proper at the time of calamities, consolidation of the kingdom, and attainment of sole rulership — thus the Fifth Book: The Conduct of Courtiers.

8. The excellences of the constituents of the state, and the policy of peace and war — thus the Sixth Book: The Source of the Circle of States.
9. The enumeration of the six measures of policy, the determination of decline, stability and progress, seeking shelter, the combined effect of the policies for one who is equal, weaker and stronger, the policies of one who is weaker, sitting quiet after making war, sitting quiet after making peace, marching after making war, marching after making peace, marching together, considerations about the one to be attacked and the enemy, the causes of waning, greed and disaffection among the constituents, deliberations on combinations of powers, marching after concluding a treaty, treaties with or without definite terms and with apostates, dual policy, the conduct of the one to be attacked, special kinds of allies worthy of help, treaties concerning the ally, gold, land and enterprise, concerns of the rear-ward enemy, making good the loss of power, considerations about attacking the strong, and the conduct of a king who has submitted through force, the conduct of one who forces another to submit, the work of a peace-treaty, release from a treaty, the conduct of the middle king, the conduct of the neutral king, and the conduct of the circle of states — thus the Seventh Book: The Six Measures of Policy.
10. The group of calamities of the constituents, deliberations on the calamities of the king and the kingdom, the group of calamities of men, the group of troubles such as oppression and obstruction, the group of troubles relating to the treasury, the group of troubles relating to the army, and the group of troubles relating to an ally — thus the Eighth Book: Concerning Calamities.
11. The knowledge of power, place, time, strength and weakness, the time for marching, the times for raising an army, the qualities of the fighting forces, the work of the opposing army, deliberations on the trouble in the rear, remedies against internal and external rebellions, deliberation on loss, expenditure and profit, external and internal

dangers, dangers connected with traitors and enemies, dangers connected with gain, loss and doubt, and the successes resulting from different expedients for them — thus the Ninth Book: The Activity of the King about to March.

12. The pitching of the camp, the march of the camp, the protection of the army in times of distress and attack, types of treacherous fighting, encouragement to one's own army, the engagement of one's own and the enemy's army, battle-grounds, the work of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants, the array of the army in wings, flanks and front, the distinction between strong and weak troops, the battles of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants, the arraying of the army in the staff, snake, circle and loose formations, and the stationing of counter-arrays for them — thus the Tenth Book: Concerning War.
13. The means of causing dissension, and secret punishments — thus the Eleventh Book: The Conduct of Corporations.
14. The work of an envoy, battle of intrigue, the slaying of the commander-in-chief, the instigation of the circle of states, the use of weapons, fire and poisons, the destruction of stores, supplies and reinforcements, capturing the enemy by sowing dissensions, capturing the enemy by means of the army, and complete victory — thus the Twelfth Book: Concerning the Weaker King.
15. Sowing the seeds of dissension, capturing the fort by secret contrivances, the employment of spies, the work of a siege, storming the fort, and the pacification of the conquered territory — thus the Thirteenth Book: The Means of Taking a Fort.
16. The use of means to injure the enemy, wonderful and delusive contrivances, and remedies against injuries to one's own army — thus the Fourteenth Book: On Secret Means.
17. The methods of the treatise — thus the Fifteenth Book: The Method of the Treatise.

18. The summary of the treatise is: fifteen books, one hundred and eighty topics, one hundred and fifty chapters, and six thousand verses.
19. This treatise, easy to grasp and to understand, and definite in its meaning, has been composed by Kautilya, freeing it from diffuseness of text.

Chapter 2: The Enumeration of Sciences, and the Place of the Science of Polity

1. The science of philosophy, the three Vedas, the science of economics, and the science of government, these are the sciences.
2. The three Vedas, the science of economics and the science of government, say the followers of Manu. For the science of philosophy is a special branch of the three Vedas.
3. The science of economics and the science of government, say the followers of Bṛhaspati. For the three Vedas are a mere cloak for one conversant with the affairs of the world.
4. The science of government is the only science, say the followers of Uśanas. For in it all sciences have their origin.
5. Four indeed is the number of sciences, says Kautilya.
6. It is by means of them that what is right and what is wealth are learnt; that is what makes them sciences.
7. Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata—these constitute the science of philosophy.
8. Investigating by means of reasoning, what is right and what is wrong in the three Vedas, what is wealth and what is non-wealth in economics, and what is policy and what is impolicy in the science of government, as well as the relative strength and weakness of these, the science of philosophy benefits the world, keeps the mind steady in adversity and in prosperity, and produces dexterity of intellect, speech and action.
9. A lamp to all sciences, the means for all activities, the support of all duties, the science of philosophy is ever held to be.

Chapter 3: The Enumeration of Sciences, and the Place of the Three Vedas

1. The Sāma Veda, the Ṛg Veda and the Yajur Veda are the three Vedas.
2. The Atharva Veda and the Itihāsa Veda are also Vedas.
3. Phonetics, Ritual, Grammar, Etymology, Metrics and Astronomy are the auxiliary sciences.
4. This group of the three Vedas is helpful because it establishes the four classes and the four stages of life in their respective duties.
5. The duty of a Brahmin is study, teaching, performing sacrifice, officiating at sacrifice, giving and receiving gifts.
6. The duty of a Kṣatriya is study, performing sacrifice, giving, living by the sword and protecting beings.
7. The duty of a Vaiśya is study, performing sacrifice, giving, agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade.
8. The duty of a Śūdra is the service of the twice-born, an economic life, and the work of an artisan and an actor.
9. The duty of a householder is earning his living according to his own duty, marriage among equals of different ancestral sages, intercourse at the proper time, making offerings to gods, manes and guests, and giving a share to the servants, and eating what is left over.
10. The duty of a student is study, the act of kindling the sacred fire and ceremonial ablution, living on alms, and continuing his stay with the teacher until the end of his life, or in his absence, with the teacher's son or with a fellow-student.
11. The duty of a forest-hermit is the observance of chastity, sleeping on the bare ground, the wearing of matted locks and an antelope-skin, the performance of the fire-sacrifice and ceremonial ablution, the worship of gods, manes and guests, and living on forest-produce.
12. The duty of an ascetic is the control of the senses, abstention from all activity, possessionlessness, abandonment of all ties, living on alms

begged from many places, dwelling in a forest, and external and internal purity.

13. Harmlessness, truthfulness, purity, freedom from malice, compassion and forbearance are the duties for all.
14. One's own duty leads to heaven and to eternity.
15. If it is transgressed, the world would come to an end owing to the confusion of classes.
16. Therefore, the king should not allow the duties of the beings to be transgressed; for he who upholds his own duty, is happy in this world and in the next.
17. The world, with its bounds of decency maintained and established in the divisions of classes and stages of life, and protected by the three Vedas, prospers and does not perish.

Chapter 4: The Place of the Science of Economics and the Science of Government

1. Agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade—these constitute the science of economics, which is useful because it brings in grain, cattle, gold, forest-produce and labor.
2. By means of it, he brings under his control his own party and the enemy's party, with the help of the treasury and the army.
3. The means of ensuring the pursuit of philosophy, the three Vedas, and economics is the Rod (Danda); its administration is the science of government; it is the means for making acquisitions, for keeping them secure, for improving them, and for distributing among the deserving what has been improved.
4. On it is dependent the orderly maintenance of worldly life.
5. 'Therefore, one who is desirous of maintaining the worldly order should always hold the rod of punishment uplifted.'
6. 'For there is no such means for bringing beings under control as the Rod,' say the teachers.

7. "No," says Kautilya.
8. For, he who inflicts severe punishment becomes odious to the people.
9. He who inflicts mild punishment is held in contempt.
10. He who inflicts just punishment is respected.
11. For, punishment, when awarded with full consideration, makes the people devoted to righteousness and to the works productive of wealth and enjoyment.
12. When awarded without consideration, through passion, anger, or contempt, it enrages even the forest-hermits and ascetics, not to speak of the householders.
13. When not awarded at all, it gives rise to the law of the fishes.
14. For, the stronger swallows the weak in the absence of the wielder of the rod.
15. Protected by him, he prevails.
16. The world, comprising the four classes and the four stages of life, when governed by the king with the rod, remains devoted to its respective duties and occupations, and keeps to its own paths.

Chapter 5: Association with Elders

1. Therefore, the three sciences are rooted in the Rod.
2. The Rod, rooted in discipline, brings security and well-being to living beings.
3. Discipline is of two kinds: artificial and natural.
4. For, instruction disciplines one who is capable of it, not one who is incapable.
5. The sciences discipline him whose intellect is endowed with the faculties of hearing, listening, grasping, retaining, understanding, reflecting, rejecting and realizing the truth, and not any other person.
6. Discipline and regulation in the sciences, however, depend on the authoritativeness of the teacher.
7. After the tonsure ceremony, he should learn the alphabet and arithmetic.

8. After the investiture with the sacred thread, he should learn the three Vedas and the science of philosophy from the learned, the science of economics from the heads of departments, and the science of government from theoretical and practical exponents.
9. And he should observe celibacy till the sixteenth year.
10. Thereafter, the ceremony of cutting the hair and marriage for him.
11. And he should have constant association with elders in learning for the sake of improving his discipline, since discipline has its root in that.
12. During the first part of the day, he should undergo training in the arts of elephants, horses, chariots and weapons.
13. In the latter part, in the listening to Itihāsa.
14. Purāṇa, Itivṛtta, Ākhyāyikā, Udāharaṇa, Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra constitute Itihāsa.
15. During the remaining parts of the day and the night, he should learn new things and revise what has been learnt, and listen again and again to things not learnt.
16. For, from hearing arises knowledge, from knowledge, steady application, and from application, self-possession. This is the efficacy of the sciences.
17. The king, disciplined in the sciences, and devoted to the proper discipline of his subjects, enjoys the earth without a rival, being devoted to the good of all beings.

Chapter 6: The Conquest of the Senses, and the Abandonment of the Six Enemies

1. The conquest of the senses, which is the basis of the knowledge of sciences and discipline, should be effected by abandoning lust, anger, greed, pride, arrogance and excitement.

2. The non-indulgence of the sense-organs—the ear, the skin, the eye, the tongue and the nose—in sound, touch, form, taste and smell is the conquest of the senses, or the observance of the precepts of the science.
3. For this entire science has for its end the conquest of the senses.
4. A king of perverse disposition and of an uncontrolled mind, though he be the ruler of the four quarters of the earth, perishes at once.
5. As for instance, Dāṇḍakya, the Bhoja, making a lustful attempt on a Brahmin maiden, perished along with his kingdom and relations; and so did Karāla, the Vaideha.
6. Janamejaya, out of anger, made a violent attack on the Brahmins; and so did Tālajaṅgha on the Bhṛguṣ.
7. Aila, out of greed, made exactions from the four classes; and so did Ājabindu, the Sauvīra.
8. Rāvaṇa, out of pride, refused to return another's wife; and so did Duryodhana a part of his kingdom.
9. Dambhodbhava, out of arrogance, showed contempt for all beings; and so did Arjuna of the Haihayas.
10. Vātāpi, out of excitement, tried to assail Agastya; and so did the league of the Vṛṣṇis Dvaipāyana.
11. These and many other kings, with their kingdoms and relations, perished, being slaves of the group of six enemies, and of uncontrolled senses.
12. Abandoning the group of six enemies, Jāmadagnya, who had controlled his senses, and Ambarīṣa, the son of Nābhāga, enjoyed the earth for a long time.

Chapter 7: The Conduct of a Sage-like King

1. Therefore, by abandoning the six enemies, he should acquire control over his senses, wisdom by association with elders, insight through spies, security and well-being through activity, the observance of his own duties through the carrying out of his duties, discipline through

instruction in the sciences, popularity by association with what is good, and a righteous life by doing what is beneficial.

2. Thus, with his senses under control, he should avoid another's wife, another's property and injury to others, as also sleepiness, capriciousness, falsehood, a conceited attire, association with harmful persons, and unrighteous and harmful transactions.
3. He should enjoy his desires in conformity with righteousness and wealth; he should not be devoid of happiness.
4. Or he should devote himself equally to the three goals of life, which are bound up with one another.
5. For, any one of the three—righteousness, wealth and desire—if excessively indulged in, harms itself as well as the other two.
6. Wealth is the principal goal, says Kautilya.
7. For, righteousness and desire are rooted in wealth.
8. He should appoint teachers or ministers who would check him from falling a prey to dangers, and who would, in secret, beat him with the rod of the shadow-clock, if he were to go astray.
9. Kingship is practicable only with the help of assistants; a single wheel does not move. Therefore, he should appoint ministers and listen to their opinion.

Chapter 8: The Creation of Ministers

1. "He should appoint his fellow-students as ministers, because their honesty and capacity will have been seen by him," says Bhāradvāja.
2. "For they are trustworthy to him."
3. "No," says Viśālākṣa.
4. "Because they played with him, they hold him in contempt."
5. "He should appoint as ministers those who have secrets in common with him, because of similarity in character and weaknesses."
6. "For, through fear of his knowing their secrets, they do not offend him."
7. "This is a common defect," say the followers of Parāśara.

8. "He would have to acquiesce in what they do and do not do, for fear of their knowing his secrets."
9. "To as many men as the lord of men tells his secret, he becomes, by that act, helplessly subject to their power."
10. "He should appoint as ministers those who have helped him in dangers involving his life, because their loyalty has been seen."
11. "No," says Piśuna.
12. "This is devotion, not a quality of the intellect."
13. "He should appoint as ministers those who, when employed in financial matters, show as much or even more than the revenue targeted, because their qualities have been seen."
14. "No," says Kauṇapadanta.
15. "For these are devoid of other ministerial qualities."
16. "He should appoint as ministers those who are descended from a line of ministers, because their loyalty has been seen."
17. "For, they do not desert him even when he is in the wrong, because of their close relationship."
18. "This is seen even among non-human beings."
19. "For, cows, leaving aside a strange herd of cows, stand only in the midst of their own kind."
20. "No," says Vātavyādhī.
21. "For, they, having appropriated everything, conduct themselves as masters."
22. "Therefore, he should appoint as new ministers those who are proficient in policy."
23. "For, new men, regarding the wielder of the rod as Yama, do not offend him."
24. "No," says the son of Bāhudantī.
25. "One who knows the science but has no practical experience would come to grief in his work."

26. "Therefore, he should appoint as ministers those who are endowed with high birth, intelligence, purity, bravery and loyalty, because of the pre-eminence of their qualities."
27. "All this is valid," says Kautilya.
28. "For, the capacity of a man is inferred from his capacity for work."
29. And, having divided the sphere of the ministers according to their capacity, and also the place, time and the work, these should all be appointed as officials, but not as councillors.

Chapter 9: The Creation of Councillors and Priests

1. A native of the country, of high birth, influential, trained in the arts, possessed of foresight, wise, of strong memory, dexterous, eloquent, bold, ready-witted, endowed with enthusiasm and energy, able to bear troubles, pure, friendly, of firm devotion, endowed with character, strength, health and spirit, free from stiffness and fickleness, amiable, and not given to creating enmity—this is the excellence of a minister.
2. Those with a quarter or half of these qualities less are of middling or low rank.
3. From trusted persons he should make inquiries about his native country, birth and influence; from those with similar learning, about his training in the arts and his knowledge of the sciences and his foresight; in the course of his work, about his intelligence, memory and dexterity; in conversation, about his eloquence, boldness and ready-wittedness; in adversity, about his enthusiasm, energy and ability to bear troubles; from his dealings, about his purity, friendliness and firm devotion; from his associates, about his character, strength, health, spiritual qualities, and his freedom from stiffness and fickleness; directly from his person, about his amiability and his freedom from enmity.
4. For the king's activity is threefold: what is seen by himself, what is told by another, and what is inferred.

5. What he sees himself is direct perception.
6. What is told by another is indirect perception.
7. Inferring what is not done from what is done in the course of his works is inference.
8. And because of the simultaneity of undertakings, their multiplicity and their being carried on in many places, he should get his work done by ministers indirectly, so that there should be no lapse of time and place.
9. He should appoint as a priest one who is from a noble family and of good character, thoroughly trained in the Veda with its auxiliary sciences, in the science of omens, divine and human, and in the science of government, and who is capable of counteracting calamities, divine and human, by means of Atharvan rites and other expedients.
10. He should follow him as a pupil does his teacher, a son his father, and a servant his master.
11. The Kṣatriya power, nurtured by the Brahmin, and sanctified by the spells of the councillors, triumphs, being ever invincible and armed with the weapon of the science.

Chapter 10: The Ascertainment of the Purity or Impurity of Ministers by Means of Secret Tests

1. Having appointed ministers in ordinary departments in consultation with his councillor and priest, he should test their integrity by means of secret tests.
2. The king should find fault with the priest, appointed to perform a sacrifice for an unworthy person or to teach an unworthy person, and dismiss him.
3. He should have each one of the ministers instigated by secret agents with a previous oath, saying, "This king is unrighteous. Let us install a righteous one, either another of his family, or a disfavoured prince, or a neighbouring prince who is solely dependent on one, or a forest chief, or an adventurer. This is agreeable to all; what do you say?"

4. If he rejects this, he is pure. This is the test of piety.
5. The commander of the army, dismissed for taking a bribe from the enemy, should have each of the ministers instigated by secret agents with the offer of a tempting amount of money for the destruction of the king, saying, "This is agreeable to all; what do you say?"
6. If he rejects this, he is pure. This is the test of wealth.
7. A mendicant woman, who has won the confidence of the harem and is held in esteem, should approach each minister one by one and say, "The queen is in love with you and has made arrangements for you to meet her; besides, great wealth will be yours."
8. If he rejects this, he is pure. This is the test of lust.
9. On the occasion of a festive gathering, one minister should invite all the ministers.
10. With that as a pretext, the king should arrest them in anger.
11. A fraudulent agent, who has been previously imprisoned there, should approach each of the ministers, who has been arrested for his wealth and rank, and say, "This king is of evil ways. Let us kill him and install another. This is agreeable to all; what do you say?"
12. If he rejects this, he is pure. This is the test of fear.
13. Among them, he should employ those who are proved pure by the test of piety in the work of law courts and the removal of thorns; those proved pure by the test of wealth in the work of the Administrator-General, the Treasurer and the collection of revenue; those proved pure by the test of lust in guarding the pleasure-grounds, external and internal; and those proved pure by the test of fear in duties close to the king.
14. He should make those who are proved pure by all tests his councillors.
15. He should employ those proved impure in all tests in mines, and in works concerning timber, elephants and forests.

16. The teachers have laid down that he should appoint ministers, proved pure by the tests of the three goals of life and fear, in their respective duties, according to their purity.
17. But the master should not make himself or the queen the object of the tests for ascertaining the purity of the ministers. This is the view of Kautilya.
18. He should not commit the fault of poisoning the pure as if with poison, for water. For sometimes the remedy for one who has become corrupt may not be found.
19. And the mind, rendered corrupt by the fourfold secret tests, does not return to its original state without going to the very end, being held fast in the grip of the emotion.
20. Therefore, having made an external matter the object of the fourfold test, the king should find out the purity or impurity of the ministers through secret agents.

Chapter 11: The Creation of Secret Agents, and the Creation of Stationary Spies

1. The body of ministers, proved to be pure by the secret tests, should create secret agents: the fraudulent, the recluse, the householder, the merchant, and the ascetic, as also the secret agent, the bravo, the poisoner and the mendicant woman.
2. A student who is clever and bold and who knows the secrets of others is a fraudulent agent.
3. Having encouraged him with money and honour, the councillor should say to him, "Regarding the king and me as your authority, you should report at once whatever wickedness you see in any one."
4. One who has fallen from the ascetic order, but is endowed with intelligence and purity, is a recluse.
5. He should carry on agricultural work on land assigned to him for that purpose, with plenty of gold and pupils.

6. And from the produce of his work, he should provide all ascetics with food, clothing and lodging.
7. And he should instigate those who desire a living, saying, "In this very guise, you should carry on the king's work and come for your food and wages at the proper time."
8. And all the ascetics should thus instigate their respective groups.
9. A farmer who has lost his means of livelihood, but is endowed with intelligence and purity, is a householder-spy.
10. He should carry on agriculture on land assigned for that purpose—the rest is the same as before.
11. A merchant who has lost his means of livelihood, but is endowed with intelligence and purity, is a merchant-spy.
12. He should carry on trade on land assigned for that purpose—the rest is the same as before.
13. One with a shaven head or with matted locks, who is desirous of a livelihood, is an ascetic-spy.
14. He should live in the neighbourhood of the city, with plenty of pupils with shaven heads or matted locks, and should eat openly a handful of vegetables or barley once in a month or two, but eat the desired food in secret.
15. And the merchant-pupils should worship him with rites which bring prosperity.
16. And his pupils should declare, "This holy man is an adept in securing prosperity."
17. And to those who have come to him with hopes of prosperity, he should, by means of the science of reading the marks on the body and through his pupils' signs, foretell events concerning their families which he has already ascertained—a small gain, a fire, a danger from thieves, the slaying of a traitor, a reward, the knowledge of happenings in foreign lands, saying "This will happen today or tomorrow," or "The king will do this."

18. The king's secret agents should bring that about.
19. He should predict the good fortune of those who are endowed with spirit, intelligence and eloquence, and should speak of his close connection with the councillor.
20. And the councillor should see to their livelihood and work.
21. And he should pacify with money and honour those who are angry for some reason, and those who are angry without reason with silent punishment, as also those who act against the king's interests.
22. And honoured by the king with money and titles, they should find out the purity of the king's servants. These five are declared to be the stationary spies.

Chapter 12: The Creation of Roving Spies; The Employment of Secret Agents

1. Those who, though not related, are necessarily to be maintained and who study physiognomy, the science of limbs, jugglery, hypnotism, the duties of the stages of life, omens and the science of cycles—they are secret agents, or students of the science of association.
2. Those in the country who are brave and reckless and who would fight an elephant or a tiger for the sake of money, they are bravos.
3. Those who are without affection for their relatives and are cruel and lazy, they are poisoners.
4. A poor mendicant woman, a widow, who is bold, of Brahmin caste, and who has gained access to the houses of high officials by being held in esteem in the king's harem.
5. By her are explained shaven women and women of the Śūdra class. These are the roving spies.
6. The king should employ these in his own country on the councillor, the priest, the commander-in-chief, the crown prince, the chamberlain, the superintendent of the harem, the administrator, the administrator-general, the treasurer, the officer-in-charge, the city-prefect, the officer-

in-charge of trade, the officer-in-charge of manufactures, the council of ministers, the heads of departments, and the officers-in-charge of fortifications, boundaries and forests, providing them with credentials in the form of country, dress, profession, language and birth, and according to their loyalty and capacity.

7. The bravos, who serve as umbrella-bearers, water-vessel bearers, fan-bearers, shoe-bearers, seat-bearers, carriage-bearers and vehicle-bearers, should find out their external conduct.
8. The secret agents should convey that to the stationary spies.
9. The poisoners, who serve as cooks, bath-attendants, shampooers, bed-makers, barbers, toilet-attendants and water-servers, hunchbacks, dwarfs, Kirātas, the dumb, the deaf, the idiotic and the blind, in disguise, actors, dancers, singers, players of musical instruments, bards and minstrels, as well as women, should find out their internal conduct.
10. The mendicant women should convey that to the stationary spies.
11. The pupils of the stationary spies should carry on the transmission of information by means of code-writing.
12. And the stationary spies should not know one another.
13. If mendicant women are forbidden entry, a succession of door-keepers in the guise of father and mother, women artisans, minstrels or maid-servants should transmit the information by means of songs, writings hidden in musical instruments, or secret signs.
14. Or a secret exit may be made by means of a long-continued disease, feigned madness, fire, poison or an offering.
15. The statement of three persons should be believed.
16. In case of their repeated disagreement, silent punishment or dismissal.
17. The spies mentioned in the chapter on the removal of thorns, should live in the enemy's country, receiving pay from him, and should not communicate with each other, for the purpose of getting information.

18. These are the spies receiving pay from both.
19. He should make those whose sons and wives have been taken into his custody the spies receiving pay from both. He should find out the spies sent by the enemy through them, and their integrity through persons of their own kind.
20. Thus he should set spies on the enemy, the ally, the middle king and the neutral, and also in their eighteen departments of state.
21. Hunchbacks, dwarfs, eunuchs, women skilled in arts, dumb women and various Mleccha tribes are the spies inside their houses.
22. In the forts are stationed merchants; at the borders of the fort, holy men and ascetics.
23. In the country, farmers and recluses; at the borders of the country, herdsmen. In the forests, forest-dwellers, śramaṇas, and forest chiefs should be employed as spies to find out the enemy's activities, forming a quick chain of spies.
24. And these of the enemy are to be found out by similar spies of his own kind—the roving spies, the stationary spies, the secret ones and those in known disguises.
25. He should station his chief officers at the borders, for the purpose of finding out the enemy's spies, pointing out to them men who are disaffected and men who are loyal, with reasons for their actions.

Chapter 13: The Protection of Partisans For and Against One's Own Cause in One's Own State

1. Having set spies on the high officials, he should set them on the citizens and the country people.
2. Secret agents, forming two groups, should start disputes in holy places, assemblies, communities, and gatherings of people.
3. "This king is said to be endowed with all virtues, but not a single virtue of his is to be seen by which he oppresses the citizens and the country people with fines and taxes."

4. There, those who praise him, the other party should contradict.
5. "Overcome by the law of the fishes, the people made Manu, the son of Vivasvat, their king."
6. "They fixed for him one-sixth of the grain, one-tenth of the merchandise and gold as his share."
7. "Maintained by that, the kings bring about the security and well-being of their subjects."
8. "Those who do not bring about security and well-being take away their sins in the form of taxes and fines."
9. "Therefore, even the forest-dwellers offer one-sixth of their gleanings, saying, 'This is the share for him who protects us.'"
10. "These kings are in the place of Indra and Yama, as their displeasure and favour are manifest."
11. "Divine punishment falls even on those who hold them in contempt."
12. "Therefore, kings are not to be held in contempt." In this way he should silence the common people.
13. They should also find out the popular talk.
14. Spies in the guise of shaven ascetics and those with matted locks should find out the contentment and discontentment of those who live by his grain, cattle and gold, who help him in adversity or prosperity, who turn back a rebellious kinsman or a rebellious part of the kingdom, or who ward off an enemy or a forest chief.
15. He should honour the contented still more with wealth and titles.
16. The discontented he should conciliate by giving up the cause of their discontent, by gifts and by conciliation.
17. Or he should create dissensions among them, from their neighbours, forest chiefs, kinsmen of their family and those in disfavour.

18. If they still remain discontented, he should make them incur the hatred of the country people by putting them in charge of collecting fines and taxes.
19. Those who have incurred hatred, he should get rid of by silent punishment or by making the country people rise against them.
20. Or he should station them in mines and factories, with their sons and wives kept in secret custody, for fear of their becoming a base for the enemy.
21. The angry, the greedy, the frightened and the proud are the persons who can be subverted by the enemy.
22. Spies in the guise of astrologers, soothsayers and tellers of omens should find out their mutual relations and their relations with the enemy and forest chiefs.
23. He should honour the contented with wealth and titles.
24. The discontented he should win over by conciliation, gifts, sowing dissensions and punishment.
25. Thus the wise king should protect from the enemy's intrigues the partisans for and against his cause in his own country, the principal men as well as the common people.

Chapter 14: The Winning Over of Partisans For and Against the Enemy's Cause in the Enemy's State

1. The winning over of partisans for and against one's own cause has been explained; now it is to be stated in the case of the enemy's state.
2. One who, having been promised rewards, has been deceived; one who has been humiliated in a matter of skill or service where he is an equal of another; one who is kept out of favour by a favourite; one who has been defeated in a challenge; one who is oppressed by exile; one who, having incurred expenditure, has not secured his object; one who is prevented from his own duty or inheritance; one who has lost his rank and honour; one who is superseded by kinsmen; one whose wife has

been forcibly violated; one who has been put in prison; one who has been punished on another's word; one who has been prevented from a wrong course of action; one whose entire property has been confiscated; one who has been tormented in chains; one whose relations have been exiled—this is the group of the angered.

3. One who has been ruined by himself; one who has been wronged; one who is notorious for a sinful act; one who is alarmed by punishment for a similar offence; one whose land has been confiscated; one who has been forced to submit by punishment; one who is in every department; one who has suddenly amassed wealth; one who aspires to the position of a kinsman; one who is hated by the king; and one who hates the king—this is the group of the frightened.
4. One whose wealth has been exhausted; one who has lost his wealth to another; one who is miserly; one who is addicted to vices; and one who is engaged in highly risky undertakings—this is the group of the greedy.
5. One who has a high opinion of himself; one who is desirous of honour; one who is resentful of the honour shown to the enemy; one who is insulted by inferiors; one who is rash; one who is foolhardy; and one who is not content with what he enjoys—this is the group of the proud.
6. Through spies in the guise of shaven ascetics and those with matted locks, he should instigate whosoever is a partisan of the enemy, according to his devotion.
7. "Just as an elephant, blinded by rut and mounted by a drunken driver, crushes everything that it comes across, so this king, blind and without the eye of science, has arisen for the destruction of the citizens and the country people; it is possible to bring about his downfall by inciting a rival elephant against him. Show your resentment." Thus he should instigate the group of the angered.
8. "Just as a snake that has taken shelter, releases its poison where it sees danger, so this king, suspecting you of some offence, will soon release

the poison of his wrath on you. Go elsewhere." Thus he should instigate the group of the frightened.

9. "Just as the cow of the dog-keepers is milked for the dogs, not for the Brahmins, so this king is milked for those who are devoid of spirit, intelligence, eloquence and energy, not for those who are endowed with the qualities of the self. That king is a knower of the worth of men. Go there." Thus he should instigate the group of the greedy.
10. "Just as the well of the caṇḍālas is fit for use only by the caṇḍālas, not by others, so this base king is fit to be enjoyed only by the base, not by noble men like you. That king is a knower of the worth of men. Go there." Thus he should instigate the group of the proud.
11. Those who have agreed, saying "So be it," he should unite them by a solemn agreement and employ them in his own work according to their ability, along with his spies.
12. He should win over the subvertible in the enemy's territory by conciliation and gifts, and the non-subvertible by sowing dissensions and punishment, pointing out the faults of the enemy.

Chapter 15: The Business of Council

1. Having won over the partisans on his own and the enemy's side, he should think of starting the undertakings.
2. All undertakings are preceded by council.
3. The subject-matter of that should be well-guarded, so that its proceedings are not overheard, and it should be unobservable even by birds.
4. For it is heard that a council was breached by parrots and mynas, and also by dogs and other animals.
5. Therefore, no unauthorized person should approach the place of council.
6. One who divulges a secret council should be destroyed.

7. The divulging of a council's secret happens through the signs and gestures of the envoy, the minister, and the master.
8. A change in behavior is a sign.
9. The perception of the physical form is a gesture.
10. The concealment of that is to be secured by guarding the persons concerned, until the time for the work has come.
11. For their carelessness, intoxication, talking in sleep, love and other passions, or their openness or being slighted reveals a secret.
12. Therefore, he should guard the secret.
13. "The divulging of a secret brings ruin to the security and well-being of the king and the persons concerned."
14. "Therefore, he should deliberate on a secret matter alone," says Bhāradvāja.
15. "For even ministers have their own ministers, and these in turn have others."
16. "This chain of ministers divulges the secret."
17. "'Therefore, others should not know any work he intends to do. Only those who are to start it should know it when it is started, or when it is completed.'"
18. "There is no success in counsel for a single person," says Viśālākṣa.
19. "For the king's activity is perceived directly, indirectly and through inference."
20. "The knowledge of what is not perceived, the confirmation of the strength of what is perceived, the removal of doubt when there are two alternatives, and the perception of the remainder when a part is perceived—all this is to be accomplished by councillors."
21. "Therefore, he should sit in council with those who are mature in wisdom."
22. "'He should not despise anyone, but should listen to the opinion of all. A wise man should make use of a child's sensible utterance.'"

23. "This is gaining knowledge of counsel, not the protection of counsel," say the followers of Parāśara.
24. "He should ask the ministers about a matter similar to the one he has in view, saying, 'This matter was like this, or if it were to happen like this, how should it be done?'"
25. "He should do as they say."
26. "In this way, the object of the counsel is achieved, and its secrecy is maintained."
27. "No," says Piśuna.
28. "For ministers, when asked about a remote matter, whether it has happened or not, speak with indifference or reveal it."
29. "That is a fault."
30. "Therefore, he should hold council with those who are concerned with the respective works."
31. "For, by holding council with them, he achieves success in counsel and its secrecy."
32. "No," says Kautilya.
33. "For this is an unstable state."
34. He should hold council with three or four ministers.
35. For by holding council with a single person, he may not arrive at a decision in difficult matters.
36. And a single minister proceeds as he pleases, without being checked.
37. When holding council with two, he is controlled by the two if they are united, and is ruined by them if they are disunited.
38. This happens with difficulty in the case of three or four.
39. But if it does happen, it is a great calamity.
40. With more than that, a decision on the matter is reached with difficulty, and the secret is not kept.
41. However, according to the needs of the place, time and work, he may hold council with one or with two, or alone, as he is able.

42. The means of starting undertakings, the excellence of men and materials, the determination of place and time, the provision against failure, and the accomplishment of the work—this is the five-limbed council.
43. He should ask them individually and collectively.
44. And by means of reasoning, he should find out the distinctness of their views.
45. Having reached a decision, he should not allow time to pass.
46. He should not hold council for a long time, nor with those whose partisans he wishes to harm.
47. "He should create a council of ministers consisting of twelve officials," say the followers of Manu.
48. "Sixteen," say the followers of Bṛhaspati.
49. "Twenty," say the followers of Uśanas.
50. "According to ability," says Kautilya.
51. For they should consider his own side and the enemy's side.
52. They should carry out the work of starting what has not been started, executing what has been started, improving what has been executed, and ensuring the excellence of the appointments.
53. He should look into the affairs with those who are near.
54. With those who are not near, he should hold council by sending letters.
55. For the council of ministers of Indra consists of a thousand sages.
56. That is his eye.
57. Therefore, they call this two-eyed one the thousand-eyed one.
58. In an urgent matter, he should call the ministers and the council of ministers and speak to them.
59. There, he should do what the majority says or what is conducive to the success of the work.

60. While doing so, others should not know his secret, and he should know the weakness of others. He should hide his own limbs like a tortoise, if any part of his is exposed.
61. For just as one who is not versed in the Veda is not fit to eat at a śrāddha offered to the good, so one who has not studied the science is not fit to hear a council.

Chapter 16: The Mission of Envoys

1. The mission of an envoy is the subject after council has been held.
2. One endowed with the excellences of a minister is an envoy with a specific mission.
3. One with a quarter of these qualities less is an envoy with a limited mission.
4. One with half of these qualities less is a carrier of a royal message.
5. He should set out with well-provided conveyances, vehicles, men and retinue.
6. He should go, after having studied, "The enemy is to be told this message thus; he will say this; for that, this is the counter-reply; thus he is to be outwitted."
7. He should go after getting in touch with the forest chiefs, boundary-guards, and the chief men of the cities and the country.
8. He should observe the sites of his own and the enemy's armies, battle-grounds, halting-places and routes of retreat.
9. He should find out the extent of the enemy's forts and kingdom, the strength of his resources, his vulnerable points and his weaknesses.
10. He should enter the enemy's capital with permission.
11. And he should deliver the message as told, even when faced with danger to his life.
12. In the enemy's speech, dress and look, he should mark his favour, his honouring the message, his friendly inquiry, his conversation concerning the good qualities, his nearness to his seat, his respect, his

remembering him in pleasant matters, and his trusting attitude—these are signs of a pleased king; the opposite, of a displeased one.

13. He should say to him, "Kings are those whose mouths are their envoys—you and others."
14. "Therefore, envoys are speakers of what is told, even when weapons are raised."
15. "Even the lowest of them are not to be killed; what to say then of Brahmins?"
16. "This is the message of another."
17. "This is the duty of an envoy."
18. He should stay, if not dismissed, but should not be elated by the honour shown to him.
19. He should not think of the strength of the enemy.
20. He should tolerate an unpleasant speech.
21. He should avoid women and drink.
22. He should sleep alone.
23. For the true state of mind is seen in one who is asleep or intoxicated.
24. He should find out the subverting of his own party, the stationing of spies on his disloyal party, the love and hatred of the enemy for his master, and the weaknesses of the constituents, through spies in the guise of ascetics and merchants, or through their pupils in the guise of physicians and heretics, or through those receiving pay from both sides.
25. If he cannot converse with them, he should gather information through the talk of beggars, the intoxicated, the insane, or those talking in their sleep, or through the signs in holy places, temples, and pictures.
26. Having found out, he should proceed to subvert the disaffected.
27. And when told by the enemy, he should not disclose the strength of his own constituents.
28. He should say, "You know everything," or something conducive to the success of his mission.

29. If he is detained when his mission is not accomplished, he should reason: "Does he, seeing an imminent calamity for my master, or wishing to counteract a calamity of his own, or wishing to instigate an attack by a rear-ward enemy or a reinforcing army, or wishing to foil an ally or an Ākranda of mine, or wishing to counteract his own war with another, or an internal rebellion or a forest-chief's trouble, or wishing to strike at the opportune time for my master's march, or wishing to collect grain, merchandise and forest-produce, or to carry out the construction of a fort or the raising of an army, or waiting for the proper time and place for the exercise of his own army, or through contempt or carelessness, or desirous of maintaining his connection, detain me?"
30. Having found out, he should stay or depart.
31. Or he should wait for a desired purpose.
32. Having delivered an unpleasant message, he should depart even if not dismissed, for fear of imprisonment or death; otherwise he may be detained.
33. The sending of a message, the upholding of a treaty, the demonstration of power, the collection of allies, the sowing of dissension among friends, the use of secret agents with the rod of punishment,
34. The seizure of kinsmen and treasures, the gathering of information through spies, a display of prowess, the breaking of a treaty—this is the work of an envoy and the basis of policy.
35. He should get this done through his own envoys and should guard against the enemy's envoys, through counter-envoys and spies, both visible and invisible, and through guards.

Chapter 17: The Protection of Princes

1. The protected king protects the kingdom from those near and from enemies, and first from his wives and sons.

2. The protection of wives we shall speak of in the chapter on the Conduct in the King's Residence.
3. As to the protection of sons.
4. "From birth, he should protect the princes."
5. "For princes are like crabs, eaters of their own father."
6. "When the father has not yet developed affection for them, silent punishment is the best," says Bhāradvāja.
7. "The killing of one who is not guilty is cruel, and it is the destruction of the Kṣatriya seed," says Viśālākṣa.
8. "Therefore, confinement in one place is the best."
9. "This is like the fear of a snake," say the followers of Parāśara.
10. "For the prince, knowing 'my father confines me for fear of my prowess,' would make an attack on him."
11. "Therefore, residence in a fort on the border is the best."
12. "This is like the fear of a ram," says Piśuna.
13. "For, knowing that to be the very reason for his return, he would become a friend of the border-chief."
14. "Therefore, residence in the fort of a neighbouring prince, away from his own territory, is the best."
15. "This is like the position of a calf," says Kauṇapadanta.
16. "For the neighbouring prince would milk his father as if he were a calf with a cow."
17. "Therefore, residence with his maternal relatives is the best."
18. "This is like the position of a banner," says Vātavyādhi.
19. "For, with him as a banner, his maternal relatives would beg for his kingdom."
20. "Therefore, he should let him loose among worldly pleasures."
21. "For sons, kept in check by pleasures, do not revolt against their father."
22. "This is living death," says Kautilya.

23. "For, like wood eaten by worms, the royal family, with an undisciplined son, would break at the slightest touch."
24. Therefore, when the queen is in her monthly course, the priests should offer an oblation to Indra and Bṛhaspati.
25. When she is pregnant, the expert in child-care should look after the nourishment of the embryo and the delivery.
26. After she has given birth, the priest should perform the purificatory rites for the son.
27. When he is capable of it, those who know the respective subjects should train him.
28. "And one of the secret agents should tempt him with hunting, dicing, wine and women, saying, 'Make an attack on your father and seize the kingdom.'"
29. "Another secret agent should restrain him from that," say the followers of Āmbhi.
30. "Instructing one who has no intelligence is a great fault," says Kautilya.
31. "For a new substance takes on the character of whatever other substance it is taught."
32. "So this new mind regards whatever it is told as an instruction of the science."
33. Therefore, he should be taught what is righteous and what is useful, not what is unrighteous and what is not useful.
34. The secret agents, saying "We are yours," should protect him.
35. If, due to the insolence of youth, he should set his mind on others' wives, they should have him scared at night in a deserted house by women in the guise of respectable but impure persons.
36. If he desires wine, they should have him scared with drugged liquor.
37. If he desires dicing, they should have him scared by fraudulent agents.

38. If he desires hunting, they should have him terrified by spies in the guise of robbers.
39. If he has a mind to attack his father, they should, after seeming to agree, dissuade him, saying, "The king is not to be assailed; if you fail, you will be killed; if you succeed, you will go to hell, be reviled, and the people will kill you with a single clod of earth."
40. They should report his disaffection.
41. If he has only one beloved son, he should keep him under restraint.
42. If he has many sons, he should send him to the frontier or to another country, where there is no danger of an heir, merchandise or rebellion.
43. If he is endowed with good qualities, he should install him in the office of the commander-in-chief or as the heir-apparent.
44. The intelligent, the one whose intelligence can be developed, and the dull-witted—these are the different kinds of sons.
45. Being instructed, the intelligent one understands and practices what is righteous and what is useful.
46. Understanding it, but not practicing it, is the one whose intelligence can be developed.
47. Ever prone to danger and hating what is righteous and useful, is the dull-witted one.
48. If he has only one such son, he should try to get a son from him.
49. Or he should beget sons on an appointed daughter.
50. An old or diseased king should beget a son in his own field by one of his maternal relatives, a kinsman, a virtuous neighboring prince, or another.
51. And he should not install on the throne an only son who is undisciplined.

52. The father who has many sons should wish them well, by keeping one under restraint. Except in times of calamity, the eldest son's share is honored in sovereignty.
53. Or the kingdom should belong to the family; for a family corporation is hard to conquer. It continues on the earth forever, free from the calamities of anarchy.

Chapter 18: The Conduct of a Prince in Disfavour; The Treatment of a Prince in Disfavour

1. A disciplined prince, living in hardship and appointed to an unworthy task, should obey his father, except in matters involving danger to his life, a popular revolt, or a sin.
2. When appointed to a meritorious task, he should ask for a superintendent.
3. And when supervised by a man, he should carry out the order with special excellence.
4. And he should bring the handsome fruit of the work and the gain from the presents to his father.
5. If he is still not pleased, and is affectionate towards another son or his wives, he should ask for permission to go to the forest.
6. Or for fear of imprisonment or death, he should seek refuge with a neighboring prince who is just, righteous, truthful, not a breaker of his word, a receiver and an honorer of those who have sought his protection.
7. Staying there, and endowed with a treasury and an army, he should form connections with the daughters of brave men, connections with forest chiefs, and win over the subvertible party.
8. Living alone, he may live by the art of refining gold, the science of gems, or the trade in gold, silver and merchandise, or by mines and factories.

9. Or having secretly entered a corporation of heretics, he may seize the property of the corporation, the property of a temple fit for use by those not versed in the Veda, or the property of a rich widow, and having outwitted caravans, ships and vessels by means of a drug producing intoxication, he should carry it off.
10. Or he may practice the art of a highwayman.
11. Or he should act with the help of his mother's retinue.
12. Or, in the guise of an artisan, a craftsman, a minstrel, a physician, a buffoon or a heretic, having lost his former appearance and with friends in that guise, he should, having entered at vulnerable points, strike the king with a weapon or with poison, and proclaim, "I am that prince; this kingdom is to be enjoyed by all; one man is not fit to enjoy it. Those who desire to serve me, I shall serve with double the food and wages."
13. Thus the conduct of a prince in disfavour.
14. The disfavoured prince should be led back and restored to favour by spies in the guise of chief sons, or by his mother if she is received back.
15. If he is abandoned, secret agents should kill him with a weapon or with poison.
16. If not abandoned, they should, after having made him addicted to women, wine or hunting through women of the same character, seize him at night and bring him back.
17. And when he is brought, he should console him, saying "the kingdom will be yours after me." Or he may confine him in one place, or, if he has another son, he may send him into exile.

Chapter 19: The King's Conduct

1. When the king is active, the servants become active after him.
2. When he is negligent, they become negligent after him.
3. And they eat up his works.

4. And he is outwitted by his enemies.
5. Therefore, he should make himself active.
6. He should divide the day and the night into eight parts by means of water-clocks, or by the measure of the shadow.
7. A shadow of three man-lengths, one man-length, and four fingers' breadth, and no shadow at midday—these are the four first eight-parts of the day.
8. By them are explained the latter ones.
9. There, in the first eighth-part of the day, he should hear measures of defence and accounts of income and expenditure.
10. In the second, he should look to the affairs of the citizens and the country people.
11. In the third, he should take his bath and meal, and engage in study.
12. In the fourth, he should receive gold and appoint the heads of departments.
13. In the fifth, he should hold council with the council of ministers by sending letters, and learn the secret reports of the spies.
14. In the sixth, he should engage in recreation at his pleasure, or in council.
15. In the seventh, he should review the elephants, horses, chariots and armed men.
16. In the eighth, in consultation with the commander-in-chief, he should consider military plans.
17. When the day is over, he should offer the evening prayer.
18. In the first part of the night, he should see the secret agents.
19. In the second, he should take his bath and meal, and engage in study.
20. In the third, having entered his bed-chamber to the sound of trumpets, he should sleep during the fourth and fifth parts.
21. In the sixth, awakened by the sound of trumpets, he should reflect on the science and his duties for the day.

22. In the seventh, he should sit in council, and send out the secret agents.
23. In the eighth, he should receive the blessings of the priests, the teacher and the priest, and see the physician, the chief cook and the astrologer.
24. And having circumambulated a cow with her calf and a bull, he should go to the audience-hall.
25. Or, according to his own strength and convenience, he should divide the parts of the day and night and attend to his duties.
26. Having gone to the audience-hall, he should not cause those who have come on business to wait at the door.
27. For a king who is difficult to access is made to do the reverse of what ought to be done and what ought not to be done by his close associates.
28. By that, he incurs the wrath of his subjects or falls a prey to the enemy.
29. Therefore, he should look to the affairs of the gods, the hermitages, the heretics, the learned in the Vedas, the cattle, the holy places, the minors, the aged, the sick, the afflicted, the helpless and women, in that order, or according to the importance of the matter or its urgency.
30. He should hear every urgent matter, he should not put it off. For a matter that is put off becomes difficult to settle, or even impossible to settle.
31. Having gone to a separate room, he should look to the affairs of the physician and the ascetics, in consultation with the priest, the teacher and his friends, after rising and greeting them.
32. But the affairs of the ascetics and of those versed in magical arts, he should have dealt with by men learned in the three Vedas, and not by himself, for fear of rousing their anger.

33. For the vow of a king is activity, his sacrifice is the administration of his duties. His sacrificial fee is impartiality of treatment, and his consecration for the sacrifice is his anointment.
34. In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness; in their welfare his welfare. Whatever is dear to himself is not his good; but whatever is dear to his subjects is his good.
35. Therefore, ever active, the king should carry on the administration of his affairs. The root of wealth is activity; of its opposite, inactivity.
36. In the absence of activity, there is certain destruction of what is acquired and of what is not yet acquired. By activity, one obtains his object and also abundance of wealth.

BOOK 2: THE ACTIVITY OF THE HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS

Chapter 1: The Establishment of the Countryside

1. He should cause to be settled a territory, which has been previously settled or has not been previously settled, by bringing in people from foreign lands or by shifting the overflow from his own country.
2. He should cause to be set up a village consisting mostly of Śūdra farmers, with a minimum of one hundred and a maximum of five hundred families, with boundaries extending over one or two krośas, and capable of protecting one another.
3. He should establish the boundaries at the extremities by means of rivers, mountains, forests, bulbous plants, caves, embankments, or by śamī, śālmālī and milk-trees.
4. He should set up a sthānīya in the midst of eight hundred villages, a droṇamukha in the midst of four hundred villages, a khārvaṭika in the midst of two hundred villages, and a saṅgrahaṇa in a collection of ten villages.
5. He should establish forts on the borders, with gates to the country, presided over by boundary-guards.

6. The intervening regions should be guarded by trappers, Śábaras, Pulindas, Caṇḍālas and forest-dwellers.
7. He should grant to officiating priests, teachers, chaplains and those learned in the Vedas lands given as a religious gift, free from fines and taxes, and with the right of inheritance by worthy heirs; to heads of departments, accountants and others, and to local officers, army commanders, physicians, horse-trainers and messengers, lands free from the right of sale and mortgage.
8. To the taxpayers, he should grant cultivated fields for one generation.
9. Uncultivated fields should not be taken away from those who are making them cultivable.
10. He should take away from those who are not cultivating them and grant them to others.
11. Or village servants and traders should cultivate them.
12. Or those who are not cultivating should pay for the loss.
13. He should favour them with grain, cattle and money.
14. These they should pay back at their convenience.
15. He should grant them concessions and remissions which increase the treasury, and should avoid those which deplete the treasury.
16. For a king with a small treasury devours the citizens and the country people themselves.
17. He should grant remission at the time of settlement, or as it becomes available.
18. He should favour, like a father, those whose remissions have ceased.
19. He should establish mines and factories, forests for timber and elephants, herds of cattle, trade-routes, and markets on water-ways and land-routes.
20. He should construct reservoirs, either with natural sources of water or with water brought from elsewhere.

21. Or he should render assistance to those who are building them, with land, roads, trees and implements, and also for holy places and parks.
22. If a person absents himself from a co-operative construction of a reservoir, his labourers and bullocks should do the work for him.
23. And he should be a sharer in the expenditure, but should receive no share of the benefits.
24. The king shall have ownership over fish, ducks and green vegetables in the reservoirs.
25. The king should enforce discipline on slaves, pledged persons and relatives who do not listen.
26. And the king should maintain minors, the aged, the afflicted, the distressed and the helpless, as also women who have not given birth and the sons of those who have.
27. The village elders should augment the property of a minor until he comes of age, and also the property of a temple.
28. A fine of twelve paṇas is prescribed for a person, who, being able, does not maintain his child, wife, mother, father, minor brothers, sisters, and widowed daughters, except for outcastes, and except for the mother.
29. For one who becomes an ascetic without providing for his wife and son, the first amercement is prescribed, and also for one who induces a woman to become an ascetic.
30. A person who has lost his virility may become an ascetic after taking permission from the judges.
31. Otherwise, he shall be put under restraint.
32. No ascetic other than a forest-hermit, no corporation other than one of local origin, and no association other than one for a cooperative undertaking, shall find admittance into the villages of the kingdom.
33. And there shall be no parks or pleasure-halls for them.
34. Actors, dancers, singers, players of musical instruments, bards and minstrels shall not cause any disturbance to the work.

35. Owing to the absence of distractions for the villagers and the pre-occupation of the men with their fields, there is an increase in the treasury, labour, commodities, grain and liquids.
36. The king should avoid a country that is harassed by an enemy's army or by forest tribes, and that is afflicted by disease and famine, and he should prevent extravagant expenditure and sports.
37. He should protect agriculture, when it is oppressed by the troubles of fines, forced labour and taxes, from thieves, wild animals, poison and diseases, and the herds of cattle.
38. He should clear a trade-route which is oppressed by favourites, officials, thieves and boundary-guards, and which is being ruined by herds of cattle.
39. Thus the king should protect timber and elephant forests, reservoirs and mines, those made by former kings, and should also start new ones.

Chapter 2: The Bringing of Land Under Cultivation

1. In land that is not fit for agriculture, he should grant pasture lands for cattle.
2. And he should grant to ascetics forest-tracts for Soma-plantations, with the animals and birds in them declared safe, extending to one goruta.
3. For the king's recreation, he should have a hunting forest of the same extent, with a single entrance, protected by a ditch, with delicious fruits, bushes, clusters of creepers and trees without thorns, with low water-reservoirs, with tame deer and other quadrupeds, with their nails and tusks broken, and with young male and female elephants, all under his protection.
4. And on the border he should set up another hunting forest for all guests, or as the land permits.

5. And he should establish forests, one for each of the different kinds of forest-produce, and factories for forest-produce, and forests for the wild tribes, attached to the timber-forests.
6. On the border, he should establish an elephant forest, protected by a forest-guard.
7. The superintendent of the elephant forest should, with the help of the elephant-forest guards, protect the elephant forest, whether on a mountain, in a river-tract, in a marshy region or in a plain, with its boundaries, entrances and exits well-known.
8. They should kill one who kills an elephant.
9. For bringing in a pair of tusks of a self-dead elephant, the reward is four and a quarter paṇas.
10. The elephant-forest guards, in the company of elephant-keepers, foot-fetterers, border-guards, forest-dwellers and servants, with their own scent concealed by the smell of elephant-urine and dung, and covered by branches of the bhallātakī tree, moving with five or seven female decoy elephants, should find out the whereabouts of elephant-herds by observing the places where they sleep, their tracks, the droppings of their dung, and the places where the banks of rivers are broken down by them.
11. By means of a register, they should know about an elephant that moves in a herd, one that moves alone, one that has gone astray from the herd, the leader of a herd, a rogue elephant, an intoxicated elephant, a young elephant, and one that has been captured and has escaped.
12. They should capture elephants that have auspicious signs and characteristics, according to the standards of the elephant experts.
13. The victory of a king depends mainly on his elephants.
14. For, with their huge bodies, elephants are capable of destroying the enemy's battle-array, his forts and his camps, and of undertaking works that are dangerous to life.

15. Those from Kalinga and Aṅga are the best; those from the eastern country and from Cedi and Karūṣa are of the middling quality among elephants.
16. Those from Saurāṣṭra and Pañcanada are the lowest among them. The strength, speed and spirit of all of them improve with training.

Chapter 3: The Construction of Forts

1. On all four quarters at the borders of his territory, he should have a fort built, suitable for war and made by nature, either a water-fort on an island or on a plain surrounded by low ground, or a mountain-fort on a rock or in a cave, or a desert-fort in a region devoid of water and overgrown with shrubs, or a forest-fort in a region full of swamps and water and overgrown with thickets.
2. Of these, a river-fort and a mountain-fort are places of defence for the country; a desert-fort and a forest-fort are places for seeking refuge in times of calamity, or for retreat.
3. In the midst of the country, he should set up the capital, the seat of his revenue, in a place approved by the science of architecture, at the confluence of rivers, or on the bank of a lake or a tank which never dries up, circular, oblong or square, according to the lay of the land, with water flowing from left to right, and with trade-routes by land and water.
4. He should have three moats dug around it, at a distance of one daṇḍa from each other, fourteen, twelve and ten daṇḍas wide, less than that in depth by one-fourth or one-half, with their bottom three-fourths of their width, or square at the bottom, faced with stones, or with their sides bound with stones or bricks, and filled with perennial water from a source or with water brought from elsewhere, and containing lotuses and crocodiles.
5. At a distance of four daṇḍas from the moat, he should have a rampart built, six daṇḍas high and twice as much in width, out of the earth dug

from the moats, square at the base, pressed down by elephants and bulls, and with thorny shrubs and poisonous creepers planted on it.

6. With the remaining earth, he should fill up the low-lying parts of the ground or the royal palace.
7. Above the rampart, he should have a wall built, twice as high as its width, made of bricks, from twelve hasta upwards, either an odd or an even number, up to twenty-four hasta, with a path for the movement of chariots, with its base resembling a palm-tree, and its top covered with turrets and monkey-heads.
8. Or he should have a wall built of huge slabs of stone, but not of wood.
9. For fire, when it finds a place, resides in it.
10. He should have a watch-tower built, square in width, with a staircase for descent equal in height, at an interval of thirty daṇḍas.
11. And between two watch-towers, he should have a pratolī built, with a gallery, two-storied, and one and a half times as long as it is wide.
12. Between the watch-tower and the pratolī, he should have an indrakośa built, with a station for three archers, and covered with boards having holes in them.
13. In the intervening spaces, he should have a devapatha built, two hasta in width, and four times as long at the sides.
14. He should have passages built at an interval of one or two daṇḍas, and in an unassailable spot, a passage for flight and an exit-gate.
15. Outside, he should have a secret path laid out, concealed by knee-breaking pikes, arrays of spikes, pits, traps, concealed pits, thorny entanglements, serpent-backs, palm-leaf fences, sharp-pointed instruments, dog's-teeth, bars, mounds of earth, vessels of water and water-pits.
16. Having made the wall on both sides with a projection of one and a half daṇḍas, he should place a gate at an interval of six poles, from five

to eight *daṇḍas*, square, and one-sixth or one-eighth higher than its width.

17. The height of the storey is from fifteen to eighteen *hasta*, increasing by one *hasta* each time.
18. The circumference of the pillar is one-sixth of its height, twice that is its depth in the ground, and one-fourth of that is its capital.
19. The ground-floor has five parts: a hall, a well, and a boundary-house.
20. Two platforms are one-tenth of the width, and the intermediate space is for the beam and the upper storey.
21. And the post is bound at half the height of the storey.
22. The upper storey is half the area of the ground floor, or with an intermediate space of one-third, with its sides bound with bricks, with a staircase turning to the left, and a secret staircase in a concealed wall on the other side.
23. The head of the gateway is two *hasta*.
24. The two panels of the door are three-fifths of the height.
25. There are two cross-bars.
26. The bolt is one *aratni*.
27. The gate of the beam is five *hasta*.
28. There are four elephant-bars.
29. For the passage of elephants, there is an elephant-nail fence.
30. The bridge, equal in width to the gate, is either retractable or made of earth, in a place without water.
31. Having established a gate equal in height to the wall, he should have a *gopura* built, with its front resembling an alligator's jaw, and one-third of its height.
32. Or having made a well in the middle of the wall, he should have a lotus-gate, a *kumārīpura* with a central hall and an intermediate space of one and a half, a flat-roofed gate with a flat-roofed upper storey of two stories, or according to the resources of land and materials.

33. He should have canals for carrying goods built, with a width greater by one-third.
34. In them, there should be stones, pick-axes, axes, implements for making shafts, pestles, clubs, rods, wheels, machines, and শতগ্রীস.
35. Blacksmiths should make pikes, and pointed bamboos, camel-necks, and things connected with fire, and what has been prescribed in the chapter on forest-produce.

Chapter 4: The Layout of the Fort

1. Three royal highways running west to east and three running south to north—this is the layout of the town.
2. It should have twelve gates, be provided with a water-channel, a drain, and a secret path .
3. The chariot-roads should be four daṇḍas wide.
4. The royal highways, the roads in the droṇamukha, the sthānīya, the country and the pasture lands, the roads for military movements, for battle-arrays, for cemeteries and for villages should be eight daṇḍas wide.
5. The road for irrigation works and forests should be four daṇḍas, the road for elephants and fields two daṇḍas, the road for chariots five aratnis, the road for cattle four, the road for small animals and men two.
6. In a well-proportioned plot, the king's residence should be, with provision for the livelihood of the four classes.
7. In the ninth part to the north from the heart of the plot, he should have the harem built, facing east or north, according to the prescribed rules.
8. The teacher, the priest, the place for sacrifice and the water-reservoir, and the councillors should occupy its north-eastern part; the kitchen, the elephant-stables and the storehouse, the south-eastern part.
9. Beyond that, the dealers in perfumes, garlands, liquids and toilet articles, the artisans, and the Kṣatriyas should occupy the eastern quarter.

10. The south-eastern part should contain the treasury, the accounts-office and the workshops; the south-western part, the storehouse of forest-produce and the armoury.
11. Beyond that, the city-superintendent, the superintendent of grain, the superintendent of commerce, the officer-in-charge of manufactures and the commanders of the army, the dealers in cooked food, liquor and meat, the prostitutes, the dancers and the Vaiśyas should occupy the southern quarter.
12. The south-western part should have the stables for asses and camels and the workshop; the north-western part, the stables for conveyances and chariots.
13. Beyond that, the artisans working on wool, yarn, bamboo, leather, armour, weapons and shields, and the Śūdras should occupy the western quarter .
14. The north-western part should have the storehouse for merchandise and medicines; the north-eastern part, the treasury and the stables for cows and horses.
15. Beyond that, the tutelary deity of the city and the king, the workers in metal and jewels, and the Brahmins should occupy the northern quarter.
16. In the vacant spaces in the layout, the guilds and corporations of workmen should be housed .
17. He should have the shrines of Aparājitā, Apratihata, Jayanta, Vaijayanta, and the temples of Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, the Aśvins, Śrī and Madirā built in the center of the city.
18. He should install the tutelary deities of the plots according to their respective regions.
19. The gates should be named after Brahmā, Indra, Yama and Senāpati.

20. Outside, at a distance of one hundred bows from the moat, there should be sanctuaries, holy places, groves and water-works, and the deities of the quarters in their respective directions.
21. The northern or the eastern part should be the cremation ground for the higher castes; the cremation ground for the lower castes should be to the south.
22. For its transgression, the first amercement is the fine.
23. Heretics and Caṇḍālas shall live at the extremity of the cremation ground.
24. He should fix the boundary for the householders according to the area of their workshops and fields .
25. In them, they may, with permission, have flower and fruit gardens, and stores of grain and merchandise .
26. A well should be for a group of ten families.
27. He should cause to be made stores of all kinds of oils, grain, salts, perfumes, medicines, dried vegetables, hay, firewood, metals, hides, charcoal, sinews, poison, horns, bamboo, bark, strong timber, weapons, shields and stones, sufficient to last for many years.
28. He should replace the old with the new.
29. He should station an army of elephants, horses, chariots and infantry under many commanders.
30. For, when under many commanders, they do not fall a prey to the enemy's intrigues, for fear of one another .
31. By this are explained the maintenance of the forts of the boundary-guards.
32. And he should not have outsiders in the city who are harmful to the country. He should banish them to the countryside or make them all pay taxes.

Chapter 5: The Supervision of the Accumulated Stores in the Treasury

1. The Treasurer should have the treasury-house, the trade-house, the storehouse of grain, the storehouse of forest-produce, the armoury, and the jail built.
2. Having had a square well dug, free from water and damp, and having had its bottom and both sides lined with huge slabs of stone, he should have an underground chamber built, with a framework of strong timber, on a level with the ground, with three stories, with various arrangements, with a single door, a staircase fitted with a mechanism, and with its floor paved.
3. Above it, he should have the treasury-house built, with a projecting roof on both sides, made of bricks, and surrounded by a canal for carrying goods, or a palace.
4. At the border of the country, he should have a secret treasury built for times of calamity by persons who have been condemned to death.
5. With pillars of baked bricks, four-halled, with a single door, with many stories, with its pillars open for withdrawal, on both sides, should be the trade-house and the storehouse of grain; with long and numerous halls, with its walls enclosed by apartments, the storehouse of forest-produce inside; the same, with an underground chamber, the armoury; with separate apartments for men and women, with its apartments well-guarded for preventing escape, the jail, under the separate jurisdictions of the magistrate and the high officials, should he have built .
6. He should have all of them built with halls, wells, latrines, bathrooms, protection against fire and poison, cats and mongooses for protection, and with arrangements for the worship of their respective deities.
7. In the storehouse of grain, he should place a measuring vessel with a mouth one aratni wide.
8. Presided over by the officers of the respective departments, he should receive old and new gems, valuable articles, articles of small value, and forest-produce.

9. In that, for fraud in gems, the highest punishment for the doer and the instigator; for fraud in valuable articles, the middle; for fraud in articles of small value and forest-produce, the same and as much fine.
10. He should receive gold that has been purified by the examiner of coins.
11. The impure he should have cut.
12. For the bringer of it, the first amercement.
13. He should receive grain that is pure, full and new.
14. In the reverse case, the fine is twice the value .
15. By that are explained merchandise, forest-produce and weapons.
16. In all departments, for officials, their assistants and their servants, for misappropriations from one to four paṇas, the punishments are the first, middle, highest amercements and death .
17. For the superintendent of the treasury, for making a hole in the treasury, the punishment is death.
18. For his assistants, half the fine .
19. A reprimand, if the act is unintentional.
20. For an assault on the treasury by thieves, the punishment is torture to death.
21. Therefore, presided over by trusted men, the treasurer should look after the accumulated stores.
22. He should know the income, external and internal, even after a hundred years, so that when asked, he may not falter in respect of expenditure, balance and collection .

Chapter 6: The Setting in Motion of the Collection of Revenue by the Administrator-General

1. The Administrator-General should look after the fort, the country, the mines, irrigation works, forests, herds of cattle and trade-routes.
2. Tolls, fines, standardization of weights and measures, the city-superintendent, the superintendent of coinage, the superintendent of

seals, the superintendent of liquor, the superintendent of the slaughter-house, the superintendent of yarn, the superintendent of oil, the superintendent of ghee, the superintendent of salts, the state goldsmith, the market-superintendent, the prostitutes, gambling, buildings, the corporation of artisans and craftsmen, the superintendent of temples, and the tax from the gates and outsiders—these constitute the fort .

3. Produce from the crown-lands, the share of the produce, the tribute, the tax, the merchant, the superintendent of the river, the ferry-dues, the boats, the port, the pasture-lands, the road-cess, the rope-cess and the cess for suppression of thieves—these constitute the country.
4. Gold, silver, diamonds, gems, pearls, corals, conch-shells, metals, salt, and ores from the earth, from rocks and from liquids—these constitute the mine.
5. Flower-gardens, fruit-orchards, vegetable-gardens, wet-lands and lands sown with roots—these constitute irrigation works.
6. Herds of cattle, deer, beasts, and the taking over of timber and elephant forests—this constitutes the forest.
7. Cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, asses, camels, horses and mules—these constitute the herds of cattle.
8. The land-route and the water-route—these constitute the trade-route.
9. This is the body of income .
10. Price, share, surcharge, monopoly tax, fixed tax, fee for coinage and penalty—this is the source of income.
11. Offerings for the worship of gods and manes and for charity, the chanting of auspicious prayers, the harem, the kitchen, the establishment of envoys, the storehouse of grain, the armoury, the trade-house, the storehouse of forest-produce, the factories, forced labour, the maintenance of infantry, horses, chariots and elephants, the herd of cows, enclosures for beasts, deer, birds and snakes, and enclosures for firewood and grass—this is the body of expenditure.

12. The king's year, the month, the fortnight, and the day constitute the period of account; in the rainy season, winter and summer, the fortnights have one day less in the third and seventh months, the remaining are full; separately, the intercalary month—this is time.
13. What is to be realized, what is realized, the balance, income, expenditure and the net balance—these are the subjects of accounts.
14. The standard, the sphere of activity, the statement of the body of income, the collection, the total of all revenues, and what has been realized—this is what is to be realized .
15. What has been deposited in the treasury, the king's share, the expenditure for the city, what has been entered, what has been carried over from the last year, what has been ordered by an edict, and what has been verbally ordered to be paid—this is what is realized.
16. The means of realizing, the balance of fines, what is to be recovered, what has been forcibly held back, what has been remitted, and what is to be written off—this is the balance, what is worthless and what is of little value.
17. The current, the residue, and what has arisen from other sources—this is income.
18. What pertains to the day is the current.
19. What pertains to the last year or has been transferred from another sphere of activity is the residue .
20. What has been lost and forgotten, the fine on an official, a side-income, a rebate, a payment for damages, the property of one who dies without an heir, and treasure-trove—this is what has arisen from other sources.
21. The balance of expenditure on account of distribution, sickness and suspension of work is the recovery of expenditure.
22. An increase in the price of merchandise in a sale is a gain; the difference in weights and measures is a surcharge; an increase in the price in a competitive sale—this is income.

23. The fixed, the fixed-productive, the gain, and the gain-productive —this is expenditure.
24. What pertains to the day is the fixed .
25. The gain of a fortnight, a month or a year is a gain.
26. What arises from them is the fixed-productive and the gain-productive expenditure.
27. The net balance, after deducting the income and expenditure that have been realized, is what has been received and what has been carried over.
28. Thus he should create the revenue, and the wise man should show an increase in income and a decrease in expenditure, and should bring about the reverse of that.

Chapter 7: The Office of the Director of Accounts in the Accounts-Office

1. The Director should have the accounts-office built facing east or north, with separate seats and a place for record-books.
2. There, he should have recorded in the record-book the total number of departments, their sphere of activity, and their total revenue; the quantity of materials, their use, the increase, the loss, the expenditure, the transport, the surcharge, the place of work, the wages, and the amount of forced labor for the factories; the price, the quality, the weight, the standard, the measure, the container, for gems, valuable articles, articles of small value, and forest-produce; the laws, the legal procedures, the customs, and the regulations for countries, villages, castes, families and corporations; the amount of grants, the area, the benefits, the remissions, the subsistence allowance, the wages, and the gains for the king's servants; the gains in gems and land, the special allowances, the remedies against calamities, and the gains for the king's wife and sons; and the treaties, hostilities, gifts and receipts with his allies and enemies .

3. From that, he should furnish to all departments in a written record the statement of what is to be realized, what is realized, the balance, the income, the expenditure, the net balance, the sphere of activity, the customs, and the regulations.
4. And in works of the highest, middling and lowest categories, he should appoint an official of a corresponding class; in works of a collective nature, he should appoint one whom the king would not regret having punished.
5. His co-workers, his sureties, those who live by the work, his sons, brothers, wife, daughters and servants should bear the loss in his work.
6. Three hundred and fifty-four days and nights is the working year.
7. He should submit it at the end of Āṣāḍha, whether short or full.
8. He should make the intercalary month a part of the accounts.
9. And he should keep the sphere of activity under the supervision of spies.
10. For an official who is not aware of the sphere of activity, the customs and the regulations, diminishes the revenue through ignorance; through indolence, being unable to bear the trouble of exertion; through passion, being attached to the sense-objects of sound and so on; through carelessness, through fear of popular clamor, unrighteousness and loss; through love, with a desire to favor those who have business with him; through anger, with a desire to harm; through pride, relying on his learning, wealth and favourites; and through greed, by making a difference in weights, measures, valuation and counting .
11. "For them, in that order, the fine is as much as the loss of revenue, increasing by one each time," say the followers of Manu.
12. "Eight times in all cases," say the followers of Parāśara.
13. "Ten times," say the followers of Bṛhaspati.
14. "Twenty times," say the followers of Uśanas.
15. "According to the offence," says Kautilya.
16. The accountants should come by the month of Āṣāḍha.

17. On their arrival, he should have them confined in one place, without communicating with one another, along with their sealed record-books, their store of materials, and their net balance.
18. Having heard the totals of their income, expenditure and net balance, he should have the net balance taken away.
19. "And whatever, out of the total income, he increases in the net balance by a fraudulent entry, or whatever he decreases in the expenditure, he should make the official pay eight times that amount.
20. In the reverse case, the same shall apply to him .
21. For those who do not arrive at the proper time, or who come without their record-books, their store of materials, and their net balance, the fine is one-tenth of what is due.
22. When the subordinate official is present, for the superior official who does not check his accounts, the first amercement is the fine.
23. In the reverse case, twice that for the subordinate official .
24. The high officials, all together, and of one mind, should announce the accounts for the whole sphere of activity.
25. He who, being separate from them, makes a false statement, should pay the highest amercement.
26. He should wait for a month for one who has not submitted the accounts for the day.
27. After a month, he should pay a fine of two hundred per month.
28. For one with a small balance in his accounts and his net balance, he should wait for five nights.
29. Thereafter, he should examine the accounts for the day, which have been previously entered in the treasury, by means of the laws, legal procedures, customs, regulations, totals, verification, inference, information from spies and personal inspection .
30. And he should check the accounts by the day, the five-day period, the fortnight, the month, the four-month period, and the year.

31. He should check the income by the time of accounting, the place, the time, the source, the origin, the description, the amount, the giver, the receiver, the recorder, and the recipient.
32. He should check the expenditure by the time of accounting, the place, the time, the source, the gain, the reason, what is to be given, the measure, the order, the person who orders, the person who delivers, and the recipient .
33. He should check the net balance by the time of accounting, the place, the time, the description, the form, the characteristic, the amount, the deposit, the container, and the guard.
34. For a superior official who does not check the king's dues, or who prevents them, or who alters the order, the record, the income or the expenditure, the first amercement is the fine.
35. For one who writes down an item which is out of order, or out of turn, or unknown, or repeated, the fine is twelve paṇas.
36. For one who writes down the net balance wrongly, twice that.
37. For one who consumes it, eight times that.
38. For one who destroys it, a fine of one-fifth, and restoration of the amount .
39. For a false statement, the punishment for theft.
40. If confessed afterwards, twice that; and also if it is discovered after having been forgotten.
41. He should tolerate a small offence, and should be pleased even with a small increase. And he should honour with a reward an official who has rendered great service.

Chapter 8: The Recovery of What is Misappropriated by Officials from the Revenue

1. All undertakings are preceded by the treasury.
2. Therefore, he should first look to the treasury.

3. The prosperity of the administration, the observance of customs, the suppression of thieves, the control of officials, the abundance of crops, the plenty of merchandise, the freedom from calamities, the remission of taxes, and the receipt of gold—this is the increase of the treasury.
4. Obstruction, lending, trade, concealment, causing loss, enjoyment, exchange, and misappropriation—this is the decrease of the treasury.
5. Not realizing or not bringing in or not admitting what has been realized is obstruction.
6. There, the fine is one-tenth of the amount .
7. The lending of treasury-money on interest is lending.
8. The carrying on of trade with merchandise is trade.
9. There, the fine is twice the profit.
10. He makes what has been realized appear as not yet due, or what is not yet due as realized—this is concealment.
11. There, the fine is one-fifth of the amount.
12. He causes a fixed income to be lost, or increases the expenditure—this is causing loss.
13. There, the fine is four times the loss.
14. The enjoyment of the king's property by oneself or by others is enjoyment.
15. There, for the enjoyment of gems, the punishment is death; for the enjoyment of valuable articles, the middle amercement; for the enjoyment of articles of small value and forest-produce, the same and as much fine.
16. The taking of the king's property in exchange for other property is exchange.
17. That is explained by enjoyment .
18. He does not bring in the income that has been realized, he does not pay out the expenditure that has been sanctioned, he denies the net balance that has been received—this is misappropriation.
19. There, the fine is twelve times the amount.

20. And the means of their misappropriation are forty.

21. What was realized first, is entered later; what was realized later, is entered first; what is realizable, is not realized; what is not realizable, is realized; what is realized, is made unrealized; what is unrealized, is made realized; what is realized in a small quantity, is made large; what is realized in a large quantity, is made small; what is realized is something else, is made something else; what is realized from one source, is made from another source; what is to be given, is not given; what is not to be given, is given; what is not given at the proper time, is given at an improper time; what is given in a small quantity, is made large; what is given in a large quantity, is made small; what is given is something else, is made something else; what is given from one source, is made from another source; what has been entered, is made not entered; what has not been entered, is made entered; forest-produce is entered without its price being paid; its price is paid, but it is not entered; a collection is made a distribution; or a distribution, a collection; an article of high value is exchanged for one of low value; or one of low value, for one of high value; the price is raised; or it is lowered; the year is made to disagree with the month; or the month, with the day; the source of income is made to disagree; the head of income is made to disagree; the official is made to disagree; the outturn is made to disagree; the total is made to disagree; the quality is made to disagree; the price is made to disagree; the weight is made to disagree; the measurement is made to disagree; the container is made to disagree—these are the means of misappropriation .

22. There, he should question each of them one by one—the official, the store-keeper, the recorder, the receiver, the giver, the payer, the councillor, and the assistants.

23. And for a false statement by them, the fine is the same as for the official.

24. And in the sphere of activity, he should have it proclaimed, "Let those who have been oppressed by this official make it known."
25. For one who makes it known, he should have him paid according to the oppression.
26. And being accused in many cases, and being convicted in only one, he should be held guilty of all.
27. In case of discrepancy, he should be questioned in every case .
28. And in a case of great misappropriation of money, being convicted of even a small part, he should be held guilty of the whole.
29. An informer, whose statement is borne out by the facts, should receive one-sixth of the amount; a hired informer, one-twelfth.
30. If a small amount is recovered from a large charge, he should receive a share of what is recovered.
31. If nothing is recovered, he should receive corporal or monetary punishment, and should not be shown any favour.
32. On recovery, he should either withdraw the charge or clear himself. An informer, for intriguing with the accused, should receive the punishment of death.

Chapter 9: The Examination of the Conduct of Officials

1. All heads of departments, endowed with the excellences of a minister, should be appointed to works according to their ability.
2. And he should have their work constantly examined, because of the fickleness of the minds of men.
3. For men, when employed in works, are like horses, they misbehave .
4. Therefore, in them he should know the doer, the instrument, the place, the time, the work, the outlay, and the result.
5. They should carry out their works as ordered, not united, nor disunited.
6. If united, they would consume the revenue; if disunited, they would ruin the work.

7. And they should not start any undertaking without informing their master, except for remedies against calamities.
8. And in cases of negligence, he should fix for them a penalty double the daily wages and expenditure.
9. And he among them who carries out the work as ordered, or even with special excellence, should receive promotion and honour.
10. "If the income is small and the expenditure great, he consumes,".
11. "In the reverse case, when the expenditure is according to the income, he does not consume," say the teachers.
12. "He is to be found out only by means of a spy," says Kautilya.
13. He who causes the revenue to be lost, consumes the king's property.
14. And if he causes it to be lost through ignorance and so on, he should be made to pay according to his guilt.
15. He who shows the revenue to be double, consumes the country.
16. And if he brings in the king's property, he should be checked for a small offence; for a great one, he should be punished according to his offence.
17. He who brings the revenue under expenditure, consumes the men's labour.
18. He should be punished according to his offence in misappropriating the days of work, the value of the materials, and the wages of the men.
19. Therefore, he who is in charge of any department should report to him the true account of the work, and the income and expenditure, in detail and in summary.
20. He should put a stop to those who destroy the capital, those who live for the day, and the misers.
21. He who consumes his ancestral property unjustly is a destroyer of the capital.

22. He who consumes whatever is produced, is one who lives for the day.
23. He who accumulates wealth by causing hardship to his servants and to himself is a miser.
24. If he has partisans, he is not to be touched; in the reverse case, he should be made to pay.
25. The miser who, being in charge of a large amount of revenue, deposits it, hides it, or causes it to be sent abroad—deposits it in his own house, hides it among the citizens and the country people, or causes it to be sent abroad to a foreign country—his secret agent should find out his connection with the party of the councillor, his friends, his servants and his relations, and the movement of his wealth.
26. And he who carries on his dealings in a foreign country, he should enter into his confidence and find out his secret.
27. When it is well-known, he should have him killed under the pretext of an order from the enemy.
28. Therefore, his heads of departments, accountants, writers, examiners of coins, receivers of the net balance, and their assistants and friends, should do their work.
29. The assistants are the riders of elephants, horses and chariots.
30. Their pupils, skilled in their profession and honest, are the spies on the accountants and others.
31. He should establish a department with many heads and with a non-permanent tenure.
32. For just as it is impossible not to taste the honey or the poison on the tip of the tongue, so it is impossible for one who is in charge of the king's revenue not to taste a little of it .
33. Just as it is impossible to know when the fish moving in the water are drinking the water, so it is impossible to know when the officials employed in the administration of their duties are taking away the money .

34. It is possible to know the path of the birds flying in the sky, but not the path of the officials of concealed motives, as they move about .
35. And he should make those who have accumulated wealth disgorge it, and should change them in their duties, so that they do not consume the property or vomit what has been consumed .
36. But those who do not consume the property and increase it righteously, and who are devoted to the king's welfare, should be made permanent in their offices.

Chapter 10: The Promulgation of Edicts

1. In an edict, they speak of a command.
2. For kings have edicts as their main support, since peace and war have their root in them.
3. Therefore, a scribe should be one endowed with the excellences of a minister, conversant with all conventions, quick in composing, with a beautiful handwriting, and capable of reading a document.
4. Having heard the king's message with an attentive mind, he should draft a letter of definite meaning, with a form of address befitting the country, the sovereignty, the family and the name of the sovereign, and a form of address befitting the country and the name of the non-sovereign .
5. Having considered the caste, the family, the place, the age, the learning, the profession, the wealth, the character, the country, the time, and the matrimonial connection with reference to the work, he should draft a letter befitting the person .
6. Order of subject-matter, connection, completeness, sweetness, elegance and clarity—these are the excellences of a writ.
7. Therein, the proper arrangement in order of the subject-matter, placing the principal matter first, is the order of subject-matter.
8. The statement of the subsequent matter without contradicting the matter in hand, up to the conclusion, is connection.

9. The absence of deficiency or excess in words, letters and matter, the description of the matter by means of reasons, examples and illustrations, and the absence of tired words is completeness.
10. The use of charming words with an easily understood meaning is sweetness.
11. The use of words that are not vulgar is elegance.
12. The use of well-known words is clarity.
13. The letters beginning with 'a' are sixty-three.
14. A combination of letters is a word.
15. And it is of four kinds: noun, verb, prefix and particle.
16. Therein, a noun is what signifies a being .
17. A verb, which has no specific gender, is what signifies an action.
18. The prefixes 'pra' and so on are what specify the action.
19. The indeclinable particles 'ca' and so on are the particles.
20. A group of words, which completes the meaning, is a sentence .
21. A clause, with a minimum of one word and a maximum of three, should be formed without contradicting the meaning of the subsequent word.
22. For the conclusion of the writ, the word 'iti' and 'this is his oral message' [should be used].
23. Reprimand, praise, inquiry, and then narration, request, refusal, reproach, prohibition, and command .
24. Conciliation, agreement, threat and persuasion—in these thirteen the subject-matter of writs is found.
25. Therein, the statement of the defects of birth, body and actions is reprimand.
26. The statement of the virtues of these same is praise .
27. "How is this?" is inquiry.
28. "It is so," is narration.
29. "Give," is request.
30. "I shall not give," is refusal.

31. "This is not befitting you," is reproach.
32. "Do not do it," is prohibition.
33. "This should be done," is command.
34. "What I am, that you are; what is my property, that is yours," this winning over is conciliation.
35. Help in adversity is agreement .
36. Pointing out the evil consequences in the future is a threat.
37. Persuasion is of three kinds: in case of a transgression in a matter of wealth, in a personal calamity, and so on.
38. Writs of proclamation, command and gift, as also writs of remission and license, the writ of information, the counter-writ, and the writ of general application—these are the edicts .
39. "He has made this representation, thus he says. Let that be given, if it is true." This is what one says who brings a request to the king. This is a proclamation, variously described .
40. Where there is the king's command concerning punishment or favour, especially towards his servants, that is the description of a writ of command.
41. Where honour endowed with befitting qualities is seen, in a pledge or in a gift, these two are writs of favour .
42. In different castes, in cities, in villages and in different countries, whatever favour is shown by the king's order, that should be known as a writ of remission .
43. A license for the establishment of a work or for its performance, and also in speech, this would be an oral writ, or it may be a writ of license.
44. They regard the report on an event as of two kinds: one that concerns divine portents, and the other that concerns human affairs, which is based on facts.
45. Having then reported the matter truthfully, a counter-writ should be prepared according to the king's words.

46. Where the king commands his masters and officials about protection and help for the sake of travellers, that would be a writ of general application, to be known on the road and in every part of the country .
47. The expedients are conciliation, sowing dissension through gifts, creating dissension, and punishment.
48. Therein, conciliation is of five kinds: praise of virtues, narration of relationship, pointing out mutual benefits, showing future prospects, and placing oneself at another's disposal.
49. Therein, the acknowledgment and praise of the virtues of birth, body, actions, nature, learning, wealth and so on is the praise of virtues.
50. The narration of relationship through family, marriage, learning, sacrificial performance, clan, heart and friendship is the narration of relationship.
51. The narration of mutual benefits for one's own side and the other's side is the pointing out of mutual benefits.
52. "If this is done in this way, this will be the result for both of us," this creation of hope is the showing of future prospects .
53. "What I am, that you are; what is my property, that you may use for your own purposes," this is placing oneself at another's disposal .
54. The gift of wealth is a bribe.
55. The creation of suspicion and threatening is creating dissension.
56. Killing, tormenting and seizure of property is punishment.
57. Lack of charm, contradiction, repetition, a grammatical mistake, and confusion are the defects of a writ.
58. Therein, a black leaf, a bad, uneven and faded handwriting is lack of charm.
59. The incompatibility of the latter with the former is contradiction.
60. The second utterance of what has been said without any special purpose is repetition.

61. The wrong use of gender, number, tense and case is a grammatical mistake.
62. The use of a word of one group in another, and the reverse of that, and the perversion of a quality is confusion.
63. Having reviewed all the sciences and having observed their practical application, this method of edicts has been composed by Kautilya for the sake of the king.

Chapter 11: The Examination of Gems to be Entered into the Treasury

1. The Superintendent of the Treasury should, with the help of experts of the respective departments, receive gems, valuable articles, articles of small value, and forest-produce to be entered into the treasury.
2. Pearls from Tāmraparṇī, from Pāṇḍyakavāṭa, from Pāśikya, from Kauleya, from Caurṇeya, from Mahendra, from Kārdamika, from Srautasīya, from Hrādīya and from Haimavata [are the sources].
3. The oyster-shell, the conch-shell and miscellaneous sources are the origins.
4. Lentil-shaped, three-cornered, tortoise-shaped, semi-circular, scaly, twin, perforated, rough, moist, dark, blue and ill-pierced are the inauspicious ones.
5. Large, circular, without a flat surface, lustrous, white, heavy, smooth and well-pierced are the auspicious ones.
6. A single-string, a half-string, a string of a special kind, a pendant, and a string with a central bead are the varieties of strings.
7. A string of one thousand and eight pearls is the indracchanda.
8. Half of that is the vijayacchanda.
9. Sixty-four is a half-hāra.
10. Fifty-four is a raśmikalāpa.
11. Thirty-two is a guccha.
12. Twenty-seven is a nakṣatramālā.
13. Twenty-four is an ardha-guccha.

14. Twenty is a māṇavaka.
15. Half of that is an ardhamāṇavaka.
16. These same, with a gem in the center, are also māṇavakas.
17. A single-string of pure pearls is a hāra.
18. So are the remaining ones.
19. An ardhamāṇavaka with a gem in the center [is also a hāra].
20. A hāra with three panels or with five panels [is also a hāra] .
21. A single-string of pure pearls is an ekāvalī.
22. The same, with a gem in the center, is a yaṣṭi.
23. A string with gold and gems interspersed is a ratnāvalī.
24. A string with gold, gems and pearls interspersed is an apavartaka.
25. A string with a gold thread in between is a sopānaka.
26. Or with a gem in the center, it is a maṇisopānaka.
27. By these are explained the different kinds of ornaments for the head, the hands, the feet, the waist, and the nets.
28. Gems are from Koṭa, from Malaya, and from beyond the sea.
29. The ruby is of the colour of the saungandhika flower, the padmarāga of the colour of the pārijāta flower, and the anavadyarāga of the colour of the rising sun.
30. The beryl is of the colour of the blue lotus, or of the śirīṣa flower, or of the colour of water, or of the colour of bamboo, or of the colour of a parrot's feather; the pushparāga is of the colour of cow's urine, or the gomedaka.
31. The sapphire is the nīlāvalīya, or of the colour of the kalāya flower, or the mahānīla, of the colour of the jambu fruit, or of the colour of a cloud, or the nandaka, or the sravanmadhya.
32. Pure crystal is of the colour of the mūlāṭa flower, or of the colour of cool rain, or the sūryakānta .
33. Six-sided, four-sided or circular, of a deep colour, well-formed, clear, smooth, heavy, brilliant, with an internal lustre, and with a lustre that spreads—these are the qualities of a gem.

34. Of a faint colour and lustre, containing gravel, with a flower-like flaw, broken, ill-pierced, and marked with lines—these are the defects.
35. The vimalaka, the sasyaka, the añjanamūlaka, the pittaka, the sulabhaka, the lohitākṣa, the mṛgāśmaka, the jyotīrasaka, the māleyaka, the ahicchatraka, the kūrpa, the pratikūrpa, the sugandhikūrpa, the kṣīravaka, the śukticūrṇaka, the śilāpravālaka, the pulaka, and the śuklapulaka—these are the sub-classes.
36. The remaining are glass-beads.
37. The diamond is from Sabhārāṣṭra, from Tajjamārāṣṭra, from Kāstīrarāṣṭra, from Śrīkaṭanaka, from Maṇimantaka, and from Indravānaka.
38. The mine, the stream, and miscellaneous sources are the origins.
39. Of the colour of a cat's eye, of the śirīṣa flower, of cow's urine, of the gomedaka, of pure crystal, of the mūlāṭī flower, or of the colour of any of the gems—these are the colours of a diamond.
40. Large, heavy, capable of bearing a blow, with even edges, capable of scratching a vessel, revolving like a spindle, and brilliant—this is the auspicious one.
41. With its corners broken, without points, and with a broken side—this is the inauspicious one.
42. Coral is from Ālakandaka and from Vaivarṇika; it is red or of the colour of a lotus, except for the variety that has a crab-like interior.
43. Sandalwood is of the Sātana variety, red, and with the smell of the earth.
44. The gośīrṣaka is of the colour of dark copper, with the smell of fish.
45. The haricandana is of the colour of a parrot's feather, with the smell of mango, and also the tārṇasa.
46. The grāmeruka is red or dark red, with the smell of goat's urine.
47. The daivasabheya is red, with the smell of lotus, and also the jāpaka.

48. The joṅgaka is red or dark red, and smooth; and also the taurūpa .
49. The māleyaka is pale red.
50. The kucandana is rough, dark like aloes, red or dark red.
51. The kālaparvataka is dark red or of an excellent colour.
52. The kośāgāraparvataka is dark or variegated dark .
53. The śītodakīya is lotus-like, dark and smooth.
54. The nāgaparvataka is rough, or of the colour of moss.
55. The śākala is tawny.
56. Light, smooth, not dry, anointing like ghee, pleasant in smell, clinging to the skin, not overpowering, not fading, bearing heat, absorbing heat, and pleasant to the touch—these are the qualities of sandalwood.
57. Aloes are from Joṅga, dark, variegated dark, or variegated in circles .
58. The doṅgaka is dark.
59. That from beyond the sea is of a variegated appearance, with the smell of uśīra or of the navamālikā flower.
60. Heavy, smooth, of a pleasant smell, burning without smoke, not breaking into particles, of a uniform smell, and bearing rubbing—these are the qualities of aloes.
61. Tailaparnika is from Aśokagrāma, of the colour of flesh, with the smell of lotus.
62. Joṅgaka is reddish yellow, with the smell of blue lotus or of cow's urine.
63. Grāmeruka is smooth, with the smell of cow's urine.
64. Sauvarṇakuḍyaka is reddish yellow, with the smell of citron.
65. Pūrṇakadvīpaka has the smell of lotus or of fresh butter.
66. Bhadrāśriya is from beyond the Lauhitya, of the colour of the jāti flower.
67. Āntaravatya is of the colour of uśīra.
68. Both have the smell of kuṣṭha.

69. Kāleyaka is from Svarṇabhūmi, smooth and yellowish.
70. Auttaraparvataka is reddish yellow.
71. These are valuable substances. They bear being pounded and heated, do not fade, and follow the formula .
72. And their qualities are like those of sandalwood and aloes.
73. Hides are from Kāntanāvaka, Praiyaka and the northern mountains.
74. The Kāntanāvaka is of the colour of a peacock's neck.
75. The Praiyaka is variegated with lines and spots of blue, yellow and white.
76. Both are eight angulas long .
77. Bisī and mahābisī are from the country of the twelve villages.
78. The bisī is of an indistinct appearance, of a smoky colour, or variegated.
79. The mahābisī is rough and mostly white.
80. Both are twelve angulas long.
81. Śyāmikā, kālikā, kadalī, candrottārā, and śākulā are from Ārohaja.
82. The śyāmikā is tawny and spotted with spots.
83. The kālikā is tawny or of the colour of a pigeon.
84. Both are eight angulas long.
85. The kadalī is rough, one hasta long.
86. The same, variegated with moon-like spots, is the candrottārā.
87. The śākulā is one-third of a kadalī, variegated with spots resembling dice, or variegated like the skin of a spotted deer with ears.
88. Sāmūra, cīnasī and sāmūlī are from Bāhlaveya.
89. The sāmūra is thirty-six angulas long, of the colour of collyrium.
90. The cīnasī is dark red or pale black.
91. The sāmūlī is of the colour of wheat .
92. Sātinā, nalatūlā and vṛttapucchā are from Audra.
93. The sātinā is black.
94. The nalatūlā is of the colour of reed-fluff.

95. The vṛttapucchā is tawny.
96. Of hides, that which is soft, smooth and has thick hair is the best.
97. This is the variety of hides. Of sheep's wool, there is the pure white, the pure red, and that which is red at the edges, that which is embroidered, that which is variegated, that which is made of patched pieces, and that in which the threads are broken.
98. The blanket, the kaucapaka, the kulamitikā, the saumitikā, the saddle-cloth for a horse, the coloured blanket, the talicchaka, the vāravāṇa, the paristoma, and the samantabhadraka are of sheep's wool.
99. That which is glossy, as if wet, fine and soft is the best.
100. Woven of eight threads, black, a water-proof blanket called bhiṅgiśī, and a coverlet are from Nepal.
101. The sampuṭikā, the caturaśrikā, the lambarā, the kaṭavānaka, the prāvaraka, and the sattalikā are of deer's hair .
102. The dukūla from Vaṅga is white and smooth.
103. That from Pauṇḍra is dark and smooth as a gem.
104. That from Suvarṇakuḍya is of the colour of the sun, smooth as a gem, woven with wet threads, woven in squares, and woven with a mixture of threads .
105. Of these, there are single, one and a half, double, triple and quadruple-threaded fabrics.
106. By that is explained the fibrous garment from Kāśī and Pauṇḍra.
107. The patrorṇā is from Māgadhikā, Pauṇḍrikā and Suvarṇakuḍyakā.
108. The nāgavṛkṣa, the likuca, the bakula and the vaṭa are the sources.
109. The nāgavṛkṣikā is yellowish.
110. The laikucī is of the colour of wheat.
111. The vākulī is white.
112. The remaining are of the colour of fresh butter.
113. Of these, that from Suvarṇakuḍyakā is the best.
114. By that are explained the kauśeya and the Chinese cloth from China.

115. The cotton cloth from Mādhura, Aparāntaka, Kālīṅgaka, Kāśika, Vāṅgaka, Vātsaka and Māhiṣaka is the best.
116. Of the remaining gems, he should know their measure, their price, their characteristic, their kind, their form, their source, and their newness .
117. The repair of old things, the secret work, the implements, the use according to place and time, and the remedy against damages .

Chapter 12: The Carrying on of Mining Operations and Manufactures

1. The Superintendent of Mines, being an expert in the science of metallurgy, the art of smelting and the art of coloring gems, or having experts as his associates, and being equipped with workmen of that class and the necessary implements, should examine a mine, whether old or new, which is indicated by dross, crucibles, charcoal and ashes, or which has ores of earth or rock or liquid, of an exceedingly high color and weight, and of a strong smell and taste .
2. In the hollows, slopes, flat grounds and concealed underground passages of mountains of known description, liquids which ooze out and which are of the color of the jambu fruit, the mango, the palm-fruit, ripe turmeric, treacle, vermilion, arsenic, honeycomb, cinnabar, lotus, or the feathers of a parrot or a peacock, which are bordered by watery plants of the same color, and which are sticky, clear and heavy, are gold-bearing ores .
3. When dropped in water, they spread like oil and absorb mud and dirt, and they are capable of converting copper and silver to the extent of one hundred times their own weight.
4. One should know that mountain-bitumen, which has a strong smell and taste, is a counterfeit of this.
5. Ores of earth or rock, which are yellow, coppery or reddish-yellow, which, when broken, show blue lines, or are of the color of mudga, māṣa or kṛsara, which are variegated with spots or lumps like curds,

which are of the color of turmeric, harītakī, lotus-leaf, moss, liver or spleen, which are flawless, and which, when broken, show lines, spots or svastikas of cinnabar, sand or vermilion, which are granular, brilliant, and which, when heated, do not break and give out much foam and smoke, are gold-bearing ores, fit for being used as alloys for converting copper and silver .

6. Ores which are of the color of conch-shell, camphor, crystal, fresh butter, a pigeon, a turtle-dove, vimalaka, or a peacock's neck, which are of the color of sasyaka, gomedaka, treacle or molasses, which are of the color of the kovidāra, the lotus, the pāṭalī, the kalāya, flax or atasī flower, which contain lead or antimony, which are variegated, and which, when broken, are whitish-black or blackish-white, or all of which are variegated with lines or spots, which are soft, and which, when smelted, do not split and give out much foam and smoke, are silver-bearing ores .
7. In all ores, an increase in weight means an increase in the metal content.
8. Of these, the impure ones or those with the metal content concealed, when treated with the sharp urine and alkalis of the rājavarṅka, the vaṭa, the pīlu, the bile of a cow, the urine and dung of a buffalo, an ass or a camel, and when mixed with them as alloys or when coated with their juice, become purified and flow .
9. An alloy of kadalī and vajrakanda makes them soft.
10. That which is broken into a hundred thousand pieces becomes soft with only three applications of a mixture of honey, madhuka, goat's milk, oil, ghee, treacle, ferment and kandalī .
11. An alloy of cow's tusk and horn makes them hard and stable.
12. A heavy, smooth and soft ore of rock or earth, which is tawny, green, pale red or red, is a copper-ore.
13. That which is of the color of a crow's beak, a pigeon or a rocana-stone, or is marked with white lines, and has a foul smell, is a lead-ore.

14. That which is of the color of the earth of saline soil or of the color of a baked clod of earth, is a tin-ore.
15. That which is rough, reddish-white, or of the color of the sinduvāra flower, is an iron-ore.
16. That which is of the color of a crow's egg or of a birch-leaf, is an ore of vaikṛntaka.
17. That which is clear, smooth, brilliant, resonant, cool, hard and of a faint color, is a gem-ore.
18. He should put the produce of the mines to use in the factories of the respective class.
19. He should establish a trade in manufactured articles with a single market, and should fix a penalty for those other than the manufacturer, the purchaser and the seller.
20. He should make one who steals from a mine pay eight times the value, except in the case of gems.
21. He should make a thief or one who lives by an unauthorized means work in chains, and also one who is paying a fine by his labor.
22. He should give out a mine that is burdensome in expenditure and working, on a share-basis or on lease; one that is light, he should work himself.
23. The Superintendent of Metals should establish factories for copper, lead, tin, vaikṛntaka, brass, bronze, bell-metal and iron, and also a trade in metal-ware.
24. The Superintendent of Coinage should cause to be minted a silver coin with one-fourth part copper and with one māṣa of one of the following: iron, tin, lead or antimony—a paṇa, a half-paṇa, a quarter-paṇa, and an eighth-paṇa; a copper coin with one-fourth part alloy—a māṣaka, a half-māṣaka, a kākāṇī, and a half-kākāṇī.
25. The Examiner of Coins should establish the currency of paṇas for commercial transactions and for deposits in the treasury.

26. He should charge a fee of eight per cent, a surcharge of five per cent, an examination-fee of one-eighth per cent, and a penalty of twenty-five paṇas, on persons other than the manufacturer, the purchaser, the seller and the examiner.
27. The Superintendent of Mines should establish factories for conch-shells, diamonds, gems, pearls, corals and salts, and also a trade in them.
28. The Superintendent of Salt should collect at the proper time the share of salt given out for manufacture and the lease-money; and from its sale, the price, the fee and the surcharge.
29. Imported salt shall pay one-sixth of its value.
30. The sale of that on which the share and the division has been paid shall be subject to a surcharge of five per cent, a fee and a coinage-fee.
31. The purchaser shall pay the toll and a compensation-fee corresponding to the loss on the king's merchandise; otherwise, the purchaser shall pay a penalty of six hundred paṇas.
32. For manufacturing salt without a license, he shall pay the highest amercement, and also one who lives by an unauthorized means, except forest-hermits.
33. Those learned in the Vedas, ascetics and forced laborers may take salt for their food.
34. The class of salts and alkalis other than this shall pay a toll.
35. Thus, the price, the share, the surcharge, the monopoly-tax, the penalty, the toll, the compensation-fee, the punishment, the fee and the coinage-fee.
36. He should collect twelve kinds of metals and merchandise from the mines. Thus, in all kinds of merchandise, he should establish the collection of the principal revenue.
37. From the mine arises the treasury; from the treasury, the army comes into being. The earth is acquired by means of the treasury and the army, which has the treasury as its ornament.

Chapter 13: The Superintendent of Gold in the Workshop

1. The Superintendent of Gold should have a workshop built, with four halls and a single door, for the work on gold and silver, not connected with other workshops.
2. In the midst of the market, he should station a state goldsmith who is skilled, of high birth and trustworthy.
3. Gold from the Jambu river, from Śatakumbha, from Hāṭaka, from Veṇu, from Śṛṅgaśukti, native gold, that which is produced by smelting, and that which comes from the mines.
4. That which is of the color of the petals of the saffron flower, soft, smooth, not resounding and lustrous is the best; that which is reddish-yellow is middling; that which is red is the lowest.
5. Of the best kinds, that which is pale and white is impure.
6. That which is impure should be purified with lead of four times its weight.
7. If it breaks when treated with lead, he should have it smelted with dry cakes of cow-dung.
8. If it breaks because of its roughness, he should have it soaked in oil and cow-dung.
9. That which comes from the mines and breaks when treated with lead, he should, having made it into thin leaves, have it pounded on wooden anvils, or have it soaked in a pulp of kadalī and vajrakanda .
10. Silver from Tuttha, from Gauḍa, from Kāmbu, and from Cakravala.
11. That which is white, smooth and soft is the best.
12. The opposite, and that which cracks, is bad.
13. That should be purified with one-fourth part of lead.
14. That which has a crest on its surface, is clear, lustrous and of the color of curds is the pure.

15. A piece of gold of the color of turmeric is the standard for the purity of pure gold.
16. From that, by adding one kākāṇī of copper, up to the fourth limit, there are sixteen standards of purity.
17. He should first test the gold on the touchstone, and then the standard.
18. A streak of even color, tested on a place that is not low or high, rubbed, licked, or powdered with red ochre from between the finger-nails, should be known as a fraud.
19. Gold, when touched by the tip of the hand smeared with a paste of vermilion or sulphate of iron, treated with cow's urine, becomes white.
20. A streak on the touchstone that is with filaments, smooth, soft and lustrous is the best.
21. A touchstone from Kalinga or from the Tāpī river, of the color of mudga, is the best.
22. That with an even color is good for sale and purchase.
23. That with the skin of an elephant, greenish, and reflecting the color, is good for sale.
24. That which is hard, rough, of an uneven color and not reflecting the color, is good for purchase.
25. A section that is glossy, of an even color, smooth, soft and lustrous is the best.
26. When heated, that which is even on the outside and inside, of the color of the petals of the saffron flower or of the kurandaka flower, is the best.
27. That which is dark or blue is impure.
28. We shall speak of balances and weights in the chapter on the Superintendent of Weights and Measures.
29. By that instruction, he should give and receive silver and gold.
30. An unauthorized person should not approach the workshop.
31. One who does so should be put to death.

32. Or an authorized person, with silver or gold, should be deprived of it.
33. Goldsmiths, refiners, assayers, strikers and sifters of dust, with their clothes and hands searched, should enter and leave.
34. And all their implements and unfinished works should remain there itself.
35. He should hand over the gold received and the work held in the middle of the day.
36. In the evening and in the morning, he should place it under the seals of the manufacturer and the employer.
37. Setting, stringing and ornamental work—these are the works.
38. Setting is the fixing of glass-beads and so on.
39. Stringing is the making of threads and so on.
40. Solid, hollow, and that which is studded with gems and so on is ornamental work .
41. For the work of setting glass-beads, he should give one-fifth part of gold; for hard stones, one-tenth.
42. Silver mixed with one-fourth part copper, or gold mixed with one-fourth part silver, is an artificial product; therefore, he should guard against it.
43. For the work of setting gems and glass-beads, three parts are for the setting and two for the basic material, or four for the basic material and three for the setting.
44. For the work of the artisan, he should solder a copper article with an equal amount of gold.
45. He should coat a solid or hollow silver article with half its weight of gold.
46. Or he should treat it with a powder of one-fourth part gold and a juice of sand and vermilion.
47. Pure gold of the highest quality, of a good color, which has been treated with an equal amount of lead, and which has been heated into

thin leaves and burnished with rock-salt, becomes the source of the colors of blue, yellow, white, green and a parrot's feather.

48. Its hardness is of the color of a peacock's neck, it has a whitish fracture, it sparkles, and it has a yellow powder. One kākāṇī of this is the coloring agent for gold.
49. Silver, when purified with sulphate of iron, or when treated with four parts of lead, four parts of dry sulphate of iron, four parts of potsherds, thrice with cow-dung, and twice in this manner, and treated with seventeen parts of sulphate of iron, and burnished with rock-salt.
50. From this, adding one kākāṇī up to two māṣas, it should be given to the gold, and then the coloring agent should be applied; it becomes white silver.
51. Three parts of pure gold and one thirty-second part of white silver, when amalgamated, that becomes whitish-red.
52. It makes copper yellow.
53. Having heated the pure gold, he should add one-third of the coloring agent; it becomes yellow.
54. Two parts of white silver and one of pure gold make it of the color of mudga.
55. When coated with half a part of iron, it becomes black.
56. Pure gold, when coated twice with a coloring juice, becomes of the color of a parrot's feather.
57. At the beginning of these different coloring processes, he should take a sample.
58. And he should know the process of treating iron and copper.
59. Therefore, he should also know the allowable loss in the case of diamonds, gems, pearls, corals and silver, and the standards for the setting of silver and gold articles.
60. Of an even color, of an even finish, without any spots, firm, well-polished, not hollow, with its parts distinct, and pleasant to wear.

61. Well-made, brilliant, of a sweet form, even, and pleasing to the mind and the eye—these are the qualities of pure gold.

Chapter 14: The Activity of the State Goldsmith in the Market

1. The state goldsmith should get the work on silver and gold for the citizens and the country people done by the artisans of the workshop.
2. They should do the work with a specified time and purpose, or for a purpose without a specified time.
3. For doing the work otherwise than as ordered, there shall be loss of wages and a fine of twice that amount.
4. For exceeding the time-limit, the wages shall be reduced by one-fourth, and the fine shall be twice that amount.
5. They should receive the deposit according to its quality and weight, and should return it in the same condition.
6. And even after a lapse of time, they should receive it back in the same condition, except for what is lost by wear and tear.
7. He should know the characteristics and the processes of gold nuggets through the artisans of the workshop.
8. In the case of heated and molten gold, a loss of one kākāṇī of gold is to be allowed.
9. A kākāṇī of iron—twice that of silver—is the addition of the colouring agent; of that, one-sixth is the loss.
10. For a quality lower by one māṣa, the first amercement is the fine; for a weight lower, the middle; for fraud in balances and weights, the highest; and also for fraud in a manufactured article.
11. For one who gets the work done without the knowledge of the state goldsmith or elsewhere, the fine is twelve paṇas.
12. For the doer, twice that, if he is a runaway.
13. If he is not a runaway, he should be sent for the removal of thorns.
14. And for the doer, the fine is two hundred, or the cutting off of a hand.

15. They should purchase balances and weights from the hands of the Superintendent of Weights and Measures.
16. Otherwise, the fine is twelve paṇas.
17. Solid, hollow, soldered, coated, joined, and treated with a colouring agent—these are the works of the artisan.
18. A false balance, substitution, removal by washing, a box, and adulteration—these are the means of misappropriation.
19. That which can be bent, that which is scooped out, that with a broken head, that with a hollow neck, that with a false pan, that with a string attached to the pan, that which is surrounded by a net, and that which is magnetic are the false balances.
20. Two parts of silver and one of copper is tripuṭaka.
21. With that, what is from the mines is substituted; that is substitution with tripuṭaka.
22. With copper, it is substitution with copper; with vellaka, it is substitution with vellaka; with gold containing half its weight of copper, it is substitution with gold.
23. A closed crucible, a foul dross, a pair of tongs, a tube, a pair of pincers, a joṅganī, salt of suvarcikā, and that very gold—these are the ways of substitution.
24. Or particles of sand, previously placed, are taken out from the ashes of the hearth after the ornament is broken.
25. After setting, or in the examination of a sheet with a layer, the substitution with a silver object is removal by washing, or with particles of sand, or with particles of iron ore.
26. A solid and a removable box are made in soldered, coated and joined articles.
27. A lead object, coated with a gold leaf, and with its interior filled with lac, is a solid box.
28. The same, in boxes made of two leaves, is a removable one.

29. A leaf is made to adhere, or a double leaf is made, in coated articles.
30. Copper or silver is the core of the leaves in joined articles.
31. A copper object, joined with a gold leaf and polished on one side; the same, joined with a double leaf and polished; and a copper or silver object with a superior colour on the outside [are other types].
32. Both these are to be known by heating and by the touchstone, or by scratching without making a sound.
33. The removable ones they immerse in water soured with jujube fruits or in salt-water. This is the box.
34. In a solid or hollow object, a paste of gold-dust, sand and vermilion, when heated, remains fixed.
35. Or in a strong-bodied object, lac mixed with sand or Gāndhāra mud, when heated, remains fixed.
36. Heating it or breaking it is the test of its purity.
37. Or in an article with a setting, salt, heated with a piece of charcoal and sugar-candy, remains fixed.
38. Boiling it is the test of its purity.
39. A leaf of mica is fixed with lac in an object with a double body.
40. Of that, when a piece of glass is concealed, and it is immersed in water, one part sinks, or it is pierced by a needle in the interstices of the leaves.
41. Gems, silver or gold are the adulterants of solid and hollow articles.
42. Heating it or breaking it is the test of its purity. This is adulteration.
43. Therefore, he should ascertain the kind, form, colour, weight, and the characteristics of the nuggets of diamonds, gems, pearls, corals and silver.

44. In the examination of a manufactured article or in the repair of an old article, there are four means of misappropriation: filing, cutting, scratching, and rubbing.
45. What they file off in the guise of a box, a spot, a string, or a blemish, that is filing.
46. What they cut off from the interior of objects with a double body, after having added a lead object, that is cutting.
47. What they scratch off from solid articles with a sharp instrument, that is scratching.
48. What they rub off by smearing a cloth with a powder of one of the following: yellow orpiment, realgar or vermillion, or with a powder of emery stone, that is rubbing.
49. By that, gold and silver articles are diminished, and nothing of them is broken.
50. Of broken, cut and rubbed articles which are to be soldered, he should make an estimate by a similar article.
51. Of coated articles, he should make an estimate after removing as much of the coating as has been removed.
52. Or of disfigured articles, he should heat them and grind them in water many times.
53. A weight, a counter-weight, fire, a pair of tongs, a pair of pincers, an anvil, a feather, a thread, a piece of cloth, a ball of thread, a hand, the lap, a fly, a look at one's own body, a leather-bag, a pot of water, and a hearth—these he should know as the means of deception.
54. Of silver articles, that which has a foul smell, that which absorbs dirt, that which is rough, that which is dull, and that which is discoloured—he should know as bad.
55. Thus he should examine an article, whether new, old or disfigured, and should fix for them a penalty as prescribed.

Chapter 15: The Superintendent of the Storehouse

1. The Superintendent of the Storehouse should be conversant with the produce from crown lands, from the country, what is purchased, what is exchanged, what is begged, what is received for repayment, what is prepared, what has come from other sources, what is recovered from expenditure, and what is a surcharge.
2. The different kinds of crops brought in by the Superintendent of Agriculture are the produce from crown lands.
3. The fixed tax, the one-sixth share, the provisions for the army, the tribute, the tax, the occasional tax, the side-income, the compensation for loss, the presents, and the store-tax—these constitute the revenue from the country.
4. The price of grain, the realization of the treasury, and the repayment of loans—this is what is purchased.
5. The exchange of one kind of crop for another is what is exchanged.
6. The begging for crops from another source is what is begged.
7. The same, for the purpose of repayment, is what is received for repayment.
8. The work of pounding, roasting, grinding, making juices and pastes, and the livelihood of those who do it, the pressing of oil by oil-pressers and wheel-workers, and of sugarcanes, and the work of preparing salts—this is what is prepared.
9. What has been lost and forgotten, and so on, is what has come from other sources.
10. The balance of expenditure on account of distribution, sickness and suspension of work is the recovery of expenditure.
11. The difference in weights and measures, the handful, the sweepings, the surcharge, what has been kept over, and what has been saved—this is a surcharge.
12. We shall speak of the processing of grain, oil, salts and alkalis in the chapter on the Superintendent of Agriculture.
13. Ghee, oil, fat and marrow are the oils.

14. Molasses, jaggery, granulated sugar, lump sugar and refined sugar—this is the class of alkalis.
15. Rock-salt, sea-salt, bida salt, salt from saline soil, salt from Sauvīra, and salt from natural springs—this is the class of salts.
16. Honey from bees and from grapes is honey.
17. One of the following: sugarcane juice, jaggery, honey, molasses, the juice of the jambu and panasa fruits, steeped with the decoction of meṣaśṛṅgī and pippalī, for a month, for six months, or for a year, or steeped with cidbhiṭa, urvāruka, sugarcane stalks, mango fruits and myrobalans, or pure—this is the class of fermented juices.
18. Wood-apple, karamarda, tamarind, myrobalans, citron, jujube, sauvīraka, parūṣaka and so on—this is the class of sour fruits.
19. Curds, sour grain-water and so on—this is the class of sour liquids.
20. Pippalī, pepper, ginger, ajājī, kirātatikta, white mustard, coriander, coraka, damanaka, maruvaka, śigru stalks and so on—this is the class of pungent spices.
21. Dried fish, meat, bulbs, roots, fruits, vegetables and so on—this is the class of vegetables.
22. Of that, he should keep one half for times of calamity for the country people, and use the other half.
23. And he should replace the old with the new.
24. He should personally inspect the standards of increase and decrease of grains that have been pounded, ground, pasted and fried, whether wet, dry or cooked.
25. Half is the grain in kodrava and vrīhi; less than half in śālī; less by one-third in varaka.
26. Half is the grain in priyaṅgu, with an increase of one-ninth.
27. Udāraka is the same; and so are barley and wheat when pounded; and so are sesame, barley, mudga and māṣa.
28. Wheat increases by one-fifth, and also its flour.

29. The flour of kalāya is less by one-fourth.
30. That of mudga and māṣa is less by half a fourth.
31. Half is the grain in śaimbya; less by one-third in masūra.
32. Uncooked paste and boiled pulses are one and a half times.
33. Twice that are boiled barley, rice cooked soft, and a lump of flour.
34. The food of kodrava, varaka, udāraka and priyaṅgu is three times; that of vrīhi is four times; that of śāli is five times.
35. Other grains, when soaked, are twice; when sprouted, more by half.
36. Fried grains increase by one-fifth.
37. Kalāya is twice; and so are fried rice and puffed rice.
38. Of linseed, one-sixth is oil.
39. Of nimba, kuśa, mango, kapittha and so on, it is one-fifth.
40. Of sesame, safflower, madhūka and ṅgudī, the oil is one-fourth.
41. From five palas of cotton and flax, one pala of yarn.
42. For twelve āḍhakas of rice from five droṇas of śāli for the young of the herd, eleven for the wild elephants, ten for the transport elephants, nine for the war-elephants, eight for the infantry, seven for the chiefs, six for the queen and the princes, and five for the king, or one prastha of unbroken and clean rice.
43. One prastha of rice, one-fourth of that of pulse, one-sixteenth of that of salt, one-fourth of that of ghee or oil—this is one meal for a respectable man.
44. One-sixth of pulse and half the oil is for the lower classes.
45. Three-fourths of that is for women.
46. Half is for children.
47. For twenty palas of meat, half a kuḍuba of oil, one palika of salt, one pala of alkali, two dharaṇikas of pungent spices, and half a prastha of curds.
48. By that is explained what is more than this.

49. Of vegetables, one and a half times; of dried ones, twice; and the same ingredients.
50. We shall speak of the measure of fodder for elephants and horses in the chapter on their superintendents.
51. For bulls, a droṇa of māṣa or barley cooked soft; the rest is as for horses.
52. The special food is one tulā of oil-cake, or ten āḍhakas of bran.
53. Twice that is for buffaloes and camels.
54. Half a droṇa for asses, spotted deer and rohita deer.
55. An āḍhaka for eṇa and kuraṅga deer.
56. Half an āḍhaka for goats, sheep and boars, or twice that of bran.
57. A prastha of cooked rice for dogs.
58. Half a prastha for swans, cranes and peacocks.
59. For the remaining beasts, cattle, birds and snakes, he should fix the amount by inference from one meal.
60. He should have the charcoal and the husks taken away for the iron-factories and for plastering the walls.
61. The broken grains are for the slaves, the labourers and the cooks; the rest of this he should give to the rice-cooks and the cake-makers.
62. Balances, weights, containers, a touchstone, a pestle, a mortar, a mill-stone, a pounding-stone, a machine, a board, a winnowing-basket, a sieve, a basket, a wicker-work box and a broom are the implements.
63. The sweeper, the guard, the weigher, the measurer, the person who measures out, the giver, the receiver, the person in charge of tallies, and the class of slaves and labourers are the forced labour.
64. The storage of grain is high up; the heaps of salt are covered; of oil, in earthen and wooden vessels; and of salt, on the ground.

Chapter 16: The Superintendent of Commerce

1. The Superintendent of Commerce should know the difference in the prices of valuable and cheap articles, and their popularity or

unpopularity, for various kinds of merchandise, of land and of water, which have arrived by land-routes and water-routes; also the proper times for distribution, collection, purchase and sale.

2. And whatever merchandise is abundant, he should, having centralized it, raise its price.
3. When the price is reached, he should bring about a different price.
4. He should establish a single market for the king's merchandise produced in his own country; for that produced in foreign lands, multiple markets.
5. And he should have both sold with favour to the subjects.
6. And he should avoid even a large profit that is harmful to the subjects.
7. He should not create a check on the time or a hoarding problem for goods that are in constant demand.
8. Or the king's merchandise with multiple outlets, the traders should sell at a fixed price.
9. And they should pay a compensation fee corresponding to the loss.
10. One-sixteenth is the surcharge in measuring by capacity, one-twentieth in weighing by balance, and one-eleventh for countable articles.
11. He should import merchandise from foreign lands with favour.
12. And he should grant to sailors and caravan-leaders a remission that is conducive to future gain.
13. And there should be no legal proceedings against foreigners in money matters, except for those who are members of native corporations.
14. The supervisors of merchandise should deposit the price of the merchandise in a single market in a wooden box with a single hole in the lid.
15. And in the eighth part of the day, they should submit it to the Superintendent of Commerce, saying, "This is the sale, this is the balance."

16. And they should also submit the balances and weights.
17. Thus it has been explained for his own country.
18. In a foreign country, however, having ascertained the price and value of the merchandise and the counter-merchandise, he should calculate the profit, after deducting the toll, the road-cess, the escort-charges, the picket-dues, the ferry-charges, the subsistence-allowance and the share.
19. If there is no profit, he should see if he can make a profit by carrying the goods or by bringing in counter-merchandise.
20. From that, he should conduct trade by land with one-fourth of the valuable goods, on a safe road.
21. And he should get in touch with the forest chiefs, the boundary-guards, and the chief men of the cities and the country for their favour.
22. In a calamity, he should save the valuable goods or himself.
23. Or having reached his own territory, he should trade after clearing all his dues.
24. Or on a water-route, he should find out the boat-fare, the provisions for the journey, the price and value of the merchandise and the counter-merchandise, the time for the journey, the remedies against dangers, and the customs of the market-towns.
25. And on a river-route, having known the trade from its customs, he should go where there is profit, and avoid where there is loss.

Chapter 17: The Superintendent of Forest Produce

1. The Superintendent of Forest Produce should, with the help of the guards of the timber-forests, bring in forest-produce.
2. And he should set up factories for forest-produce.
3. And he should fix the dues and the penalty for those who cut timber from the forest, except in cases of calamity.
4. The class of forest-produce: śāka, tiniśa, dhanvana, arjuna, madhūka, tilaka, sāla, śiṃśapā, arimeda, rājādana, śirīṣa, khadira, sarala, tāla,

- sarja, aśvakarṇa, somavalka, kuśāmra, priyaka, dhava and so on is the class of strong timber.
5. Uṭaja, cimiya, cāpa, veṇu, vaṃśa, sātinaka, kaṇṭaka, bhāllūka and so on is the class of bamboos.
 6. Vetra, śīkavallī, vāśī, śyāmalatā, nāgalatā and so on is the class of creepers.
 7. Mālatī, mūrvā, arka, śaṇa, gavedhukā, atasī and so on is the class of barks.
 8. Muñja, balbaja and so on are the materials for ropes.
 9. The leaves of the tālī, tāla and bhūrja trees.
 10. The flowers of the kiṃśuka, kusumbha and kuṅkuma trees.
 11. Bulbs, roots, fruits and so on is the class of medicinal substances.
 12. Kālakūṭa, vatsanābha, hālāhala, meṣaśṛṅga, mustā, kuṣṭha, mahāviṣa, vellitaka, gaurārḍra, bālakamārkaṭa, haimavata, kāliṅgaka, dāradaka, aṅkolasāra, koṣṭraka and so on are the poisons; and the same snakes and insects, when put in a pot, are the class of poisons.
 13. The skin, bone, bile, sinew, eye, tooth, horn, hoof and tail of the godhā, the seraka, the leopard, the ox, the porpoise, the lion, the tiger, the elephant, the buffalo, the camara, the sṛmara, the rhinoceros, the gomṛga and the gavaya; and also of other beasts, cattle, birds and snakes.
 14. Iron, copper, bronze, bell-metal, lead, tin, vaikṛntaka and brass are the metals.
 15. Articles made of split bamboo and clay.
 16. Charcoal, husks and ashes; enclosures for beasts, cattle, birds and snakes, and enclosures for firewood and grass.
 17. Factories inside and outside, divided and for all kinds of articles, for the sake of livelihood and the protection of the city, should be set up for those who live by forest-produce.

Chapter 18: The Superintendent of the Armoury

1. The Superintendent of the Armoury should have manufactured, by artisans and craftsmen of that class, machines, weapons, armour and implements, for use in battle, in the defence of a fort, and for assaulting an enemy's city, with a fixed time for work, wages and results, and should store them in their proper places.
2. He should have them frequently shifted from place to place and exposed to sun and wind.
3. He should store elsewhere what is being damaged by heat, damp and insects.
4. And he should know them by their kind, form, characteristic, quantity, source, price and place of deposit.
5. The sarvatobhadra, the jāmādagnya, the bahumukha, the viśvāsaghāti, the saṅghātī, the yānaka, the parjanya, the bāhu, the ūrdhva-bāhu, and the ardha-bāhu are the stationary machines.
6. The pāñcālīka, the devadanda, the sūkarikā, the musalayaṣṭi, the hastivāraka, the tālavṛnta, the mudgara, the gadā, the spr̥ktalā, the kuddāla, the āṣṭhāṭima, the utpāṭima, the udghāṭima, the śataghnī, the triśūla, and the cakṛa are the mobile machines.
7. The śakti, the prāsa, the kunta, the hāṭaka, the bhiṇḍipāla, the śūla, the tomara, the varāhakarṇa, the kaṇaya, the karpaṇa, the trāsikā and so on are the weapons with sharp points.
8. Bows made of tāla, cāpa, dāru and śārṅga are the karmuka, the kodaṇḍa and the drūṇa.
9. The strings are made of mūrvā, arka, śaṇa, gavedhu, veṇu and sinew.
10. Arrows are made of veṇu, śara, śalākā, daṇḍāsana and nārāca.
11. Their points are for cutting, piercing and striking, and are made of iron, bone or wood.
12. The nistriṃśa, the maṇḍalāgra and the asiyaṣṭi are the swords.
13. The handles are made of the horn of the rhinoceros, the buffalo, and the elephant, of wood, and of the root of bamboo.

14. The paraśu, the kuṭhāra, the paṭṭasa, the khanitra, the kuddāla, the krakaca and the kāṇḍacchedana are like razors.
15. The yantra, the goṣphaṇa, the muṣṭipāṣāṇa, the rocanī and the dṛṣad are the stone-weapons.
16. Coats of mail made of iron nets, plates, woven threads, kaṅkaṭa, porpoise-skin, rhinoceros-hide, cow-hide, elephant-hide, and a combination of hoofs and horns.
17. The helmet, the neck-protector, the cuirass, the coat of mail, the vāravāṇa, the paṭṭa, the nāgodarikā, the hastikaṛṇa, the tālamūla, the dhamanikā, the kapāṭa, the kiṭikā, the apratihata and the balāhakānta are the coats of mail.
18. The harness, the ornaments, and the trappings for elephants, chariots and horses are the implements.
19. And the works of magic and secret contrivances.
20. And of the factories, the superintendent of arms should know the desire, the start, the completion, the use, the surcharge, the result, the loss and the expenditure of the forest-produce.

Chapter 19: The standardisation of weights and measures

1. The Superintendent of Weights and Measures should have the factories for weights and measures established.
2. Ten māṣa-beans of grain are a suvarṇa-māṣaka, or five guṇjas.
3. Sixteen of them are a suvarṇa or a karṣa.
4. Four karṣas are a pala.
5. Eighty-eight white mustard seeds are a rūpya-māṣaka.
6. Sixteen of them are a dharaṇa, or twenty śaimbya-beans.
7. Twenty rice-grains are a vajra-dharaṇa.
8. A half-māṣaka, a māṣaka, two, four, eight māṣakas, a suvarṇa, two, four, eight, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, and one hundred suvarṇas.
9. By that are explained the dharaṇas.

10. The counter-weights should be of iron or of stone from Magadha or Mekala, or of a kind that does not increase with water and plaster, nor decrease with heat.
11. From six angulas upwards, he should have ten balances made, with an increase of eight angulas each; from one pala of iron upwards, with an increase of one pala each; or a machine with pans on both sides.
12. He should have a balance made, of thirty-five palas of iron, seventy-two angulas long, and of a circular shape.
13. Having attached to it a pan of five palas, he should have its equipoise marked.
14. From that, he should have the divisions marked, one karṣa, and then one pala, ten, twelve, fifteen, and twenty palas.
15. Then he should have them marked up to one hundred, with an increase of ten each time.
16. In the axles, he should have it marked with a nandī.
17. From this, he should have a parimāṇī balance made, of double the iron, and ninety-six angulas long.
18. On it, he should have the divisions marked, from one hundred upwards, twenty, fifty, and one hundred.
19. Twenty tulās are a bhāra.
20. Ten dharaṇas are a pala.
21. One hundred palas of that are an āyamānī.
22. Less by five palas is the vyāvahārikī, the bhājanī and the antaḥpurabhājanī.
23. Of them, the weight is less by half a dharaṇa, the counter-weight is less by two palas, and the lengths are less by six angulas.
24. Of the first two, the standard weight is five palas, except for meat, iron, salt and gems.
25. A wooden balance is eight hastas long, with a stand, with a counter-weight, and resting on a peacock's foot.

26. Twenty-five palas of wood is the standard for measuring a prastha of rice.
27. This is the rule for large and small quantities.
28. Thus the balances and weights have been explained.
29. Now, one hundred and two palas of māṣa-beans of grain are a droṇa, for measuring the revenue; ninety-eight and a half palas are for commercial use; seventy-five palas are for provisions; and sixty-two and a half palas are for the harem.
30. Of them, the āḍhaka, the prastha and the kuḍuba are one-fourth less in succession.
31. Sixteen droṇas are a khārī.
32. A kumbha is of twenty droṇas.
33. Ten kumbhas are a vaha.
34. He should have a measure made of dry and strong timber, even, with its top one-fourth of its height, or with its top inside.
35. But for liquids, for liquor, for flowers and fruits, for husks and charcoal, and for lime, the measure is by the top, with an increase of twice the amount each time.
36. The price of a droṇa is one and a quarter paṇas; of an āḍhaka, three-fourths; of a prastha, six māṣakas; of a kuḍuba, one māṣaka.
37. The price of the measures for liquids and so on is double.
38. The price of a counter-weight is twenty paṇas.
39. The price of a balance is one-third of that.
40. He should have them stamped every four months.
41. For one who has not had them stamped, the penalty is twenty-seven and a quarter paṇas.
42. They should pay a stamping fee of one kākaṇī per day to the Superintendent of Weights and Measures.
43. One thirty-second part is the surcharge for heated ghee; one sixty-fourth part for oil.
44. One-fiftieth part is the loss by overflow for liquids.

45. He should have measures made of half, one-fourth and one-eighth of a kuḍuba.
46. Eighty-four kuḍubas are considered a vāraka of ghee; sixty-four of oil; and a quarter of a ghaṭikā for both.

Chapter 20: The Measurement of Space and Time

1. The Superintendent of Measures should know the measurement of space and time.
2. Eight atoms are a chariot-wheel mote.
3. Eight of them are a louse-egg.
4. Eight of them are a louse.
5. Eight of them are a barley-corn.
6. Eight barley-corns are an angula (finger's breadth).
7. Or the middle joint of the middle finger of a man of medium size is an angula.
8. Four angulas are a dhanurgraha.
9. Eight angulas are a dhanurmuṣṭi.
10. Twelve angulas are a vitasti (span), and also the shadow-unit of a man.
11. Fourteen angulas are a śama, a śala, a pariraya, and a pada.
12. Two vitastis are an aratni, the prajāpatya hasta.
13. That, with the dhanurgraha, is the measure for weights and pasture lands.
14. That, with the dhanurmuṣṭi, is a kiṣku or a kaṃsa.
15. Forty-two angulas is the carpenter's and sawyer's kiṣku, the measure for camps, forts, and the king's property.
16. Fifty-four angulas is the hasta for forest-produce.
17. Eighty-four angulas is a vyāma, the measure for ropes and for the depth of a man's digging.
18. Four aratnis are a daṇḍa, a dhanus, a nālikā, and the pauruṣa for the household.

19. One hundred and eight angulas is a dhanus, the measure for roads and walls, and the pauruṣa for fire-altars.
20. Six kaṃsas are a daṇḍa, the measure for gifts to Brahmins and guests.
21. Ten daṇḍas are a rajju.
22. Two rajjus are a parideśa.
23. Three rajjus are a nivartana on one side.
24. A bāhu is more by two daṇḍas.
25. Two thousand dhanus are a goruta.
26. Four gorutas are a yojana.
27. This is the measurement of space.
28. Hereafter is the measurement of time.
29. Tuṭa, lava, nimeṣa, kāṣṭhā, kalā, nālikā, muhūrta, the earlier and later parts, day, night, fortnight, month, season, half-year, year, and yuga—these are the units of time.
30. Two tuṭas are a lava.
31. Two lavas are a nimeṣa.
32. Five nimeṣas are a kāṣṭhā.
33. Thirty kāṣṭhās are a kalā.
34. Forty kalās are a nālikā.
35. Or four suvarṇa-māṣakas, four angulas long, with a hole in the vessel, or an āḍhaka of water is a nālikā.
36. Two nālikās are a muhūrta.
37. The day and the night consist of fifteen muhūrtas in the months of Caitra and Āśvayuja.
38. Thereafter, one of them increases or decreases by three muhūrtas for six months.
39. When the shadow is eight man-lengths, one-eighteenth part of the day has passed; when six man-lengths, one-fourteenth; when three man-lengths, one-eighth; when two man-lengths, one-sixth; when one man-

length, one-fourth; when eight angulas, three-tenths; when four angulas, three-eighths; when there is no shadow, it is midday.

40. When the day has turned, one should know the remainder in this way.
41. In the month of Āṣāḍha, there is no shadow at midday.
42. Hereafter, for the six months beginning with Śrāvaṇa, the shadow increases by two angulas each month; for the months beginning with Māgha, it decreases by two angulas.
43. Fifteen days and nights are a fortnight.
44. That in which the moon waxes is the bright fortnight.
45. That in which the moon wanes is the dark fortnight.
46. Two fortnights are a month.
47. Thirty days and nights are a working month.
48. A solar month has half a day more.
49. A lunar month has half a day less.
50. A sidereal month has twenty-seven days.
51. A lunar-solar month has thirty-two days.
52. That for horses has thirty-five days.
53. That for elephants has forty days.
54. Two months are a season.
55. Śrāvaṇa and Prauṣṭhapada are the rainy season.
56. Āśvayuja and Kārttika are autumn.
57. Mārgaśīrṣa and Pauṣa are winter.
58. Māgha and Phālguna are the cool season.
59. Caitra and Vaiśākha are spring.
60. Jyeṣṭhamūlīya and Āṣāḍha are summer.
61. The northern course of the sun begins with the cool season.
62. The southern course begins with the rainy season.
63. Two courses of the sun are a year.
64. Five years are a yuga.

65. The sun takes away one-sixtieth part of the day in a season. Then it causes a loss of one day; and so does the moon.
66. Thus, in two and a half years, they produce an intercalary month, the first in summer and the second at the end of five years.

Chapter 21: The Superintendent of Tolls

1. The Superintendent of Tolls should set up the toll-house and its flag near the main gate, facing east or north.
2. Four or five toll-collectors should record the merchants who have arrived with a caravan: who they are, from where, with how much merchandise, and where the identification marks or seals were made.
3. For those without a seal, the penalty is double the dues.
4. For those with a counterfeit seal, the fine is eight times the toll.
5. For those with a broken seal, the penalty is detention in the guard-house.
6. For changing the royal seal or for a forged name, he should be made to pay a transport fee of one and a quarter paṇas.
7. The traders, standing at the foot of the flag, should declare the quantity and price of the merchandise, saying, "Who is the buyer for this merchandise of this quantity and at this price?"
8. After proclaiming it three times, he should give it to those who demand it.
9. In a competition among buyers, the increase in price, along with the toll, shall go to the treasury.
10. For fear of the toll, if a merchant states the quantity or price of the merchandise to be less, the king shall confiscate the excess.
11. Or he shall be made to pay eight times the toll.
12. The same should be done in the case of merchandise that has been brought in, when its price is lowered by a counterfeit sample, or when valuable merchandise is concealed by merchandise of small value.

13. Or for one who, for fear of a rival buyer, raises the price above the value of the merchandise, the king shall confiscate the increase in price, or he shall make him pay double the toll.
14. The same, eight times, for the superintendent who conceals it.
15. Therefore, the sale of merchandise should be by weighing, measuring or counting; an estimate for articles of small value and for those to be shown favour.
16. For those who have passed the foot of the flag without paying the toll, the fine is eight times the toll.
17. The road-guards and the spies should find them out.
18. Merchandise connected with a marriage, taken by a bride on her way to her husband's house, presents, articles for a sacrifice, for a birth-ceremony, for a religious ceremony, for the worship of gods, for the tonsure ceremony, for the investiture with the sacred thread, for the gift of a cow, for a religious vow, for consecration and so on, shall pass free of toll.
19. For one who says otherwise, the punishment for theft.
20. For a merchant who, with a single seal, exports duty-paid goods along with non-duty-paid goods by breaking open a bale of merchandise, the fine is the same and as much.
21. For one who, having made a sample of cow-dung or straw from the toll-house, carries off the merchandise, the highest amercement is the fine.
22. For one who exports one of the following, which are not to be exported: weapons, armour, coats of mail, metals, chariots, gems, grain and cattle, the punishment is as proclaimed, and the confiscation of the merchandise.
23. For the import of any of these, the sale shall be free of toll outside the city.
24. The boundary-guard should take a road-cess of one and a quarter paṇas for a cart-load of merchandise, one paṇa for a single-hoofed

animal, half a paṇa for cattle, a quarter paṇa for small animals, and a māṣikā for a shoulder-load.

25. And he should make good what is lost or stolen.
26. Having given the foreign caravan a list of the valuable and cheap articles, an identification mark, and a seal, he should send it to the superintendent.
27. Or a spy in the guise of a merchant should send the list of the caravan to the king.
28. By that means, the king should inform the superintendent of tolls of the list of the caravan, for the purpose of proclaiming his omniscience.
29. Then the superintendent should approach the caravan and say, "This is the valuable merchandise and the cheap merchandise of so-and-so; it is not to be concealed; this is the power of the king."
30. For one who conceals cheap merchandise, the fine is eight times the toll; for valuable merchandise, the confiscation of everything.
31. He should destroy merchandise that is harmful to the country and that which is useless. He should make rare and highly useful seeds free of toll.

Chapter 22: The Superintendent of Tolls, and the Rules for Tolls

1. Hospitality is for those from outside and from inside.
2. The toll is on exports and imports.
3. For imports, it is one-fifth of the value.
4. He should take one-sixth of flowers, fruits, vegetables, roots, bulbs, dried fruits, seeds, dried fish and meat.
5. In the case of conch-shells, diamonds, gems, pearls, corals and necklaces, he should have them dealt with by men of that class, with a fixed time for work, wages and results.
6. For fibrous garments, dukūla, silk-yarn, blankets, yellow orpiment, realgar, antimony, vermilion, metals, colouring substances, sandalwood,

aloes, pungent spices, ferment, coverings, hides, ivory, skins, articles made of silk-yarn, and sheep's and goat's wool, the toll is one-tenth or one-fifteenth.

7. For cloth, quadrupeds, bipeds, yarn, cotton, perfumes, medicines, wood, bamboo, bark, hides, and earthen pots, and for grain, oil, salts, liquor, cooked food and so on, it is one-twentieth or one-twenty-fifth.
8. The gate-dues are one-fifth of the toll; or he may fix a concession according to the benefit to the country.
9. And there is no sale of merchandise in the places of its origin.
10. For taking mineral products from the mines, the penalty is six hundred paṇas.
11. For taking flowers and fruits from the flower and fruit gardens, the fine is fifty-four paṇas.
12. For taking vegetables, roots and bulbs from the vegetable-gardens, the fine is fifty-two and three-quarters paṇas.
13. For taking any crop from the fields, fifty-three paṇas.
14. And the penalty for transgressing the rules of the crown-lands is one and a half paṇas.
15. Therefore, for new and old merchandise, he should fix the toll according to the customs of the country and the caste, and the penalty for misconduct.

Chapter 23: The Superintendent of Yarn

1. The Superintendent of Yarn should get the work of yarn, armour, cloth and ropes done by men of that class.
2. And he should have wool, bark-fibre, cotton, silk-cotton, hemp and flax spun by widows, disabled women, maidens, female ascetics, women paying off a fine by their labour, mothers of prostitutes, old female servants of the king, and female temple-servants who have ceased their service.

3. And having known the fineness, coarseness or medium quality of the yarn, he should fix the wages, and also its abundance or scarcity.
4. Having known the quantity of the yarn, he should favour them with oil and myrobalan powder for anointing.
5. They should be made to work on holidays by means of gifts of honour.
6. For a decrease in yarn, there shall be a decrease in wages, in proportion to the value of the material.
7. And he should get the work done by artisans, with a fixed time for work, wages and results, and should maintain contact with them.
8. And he should please those who are engaged in the manufacture of fibrous garments, dukūla, silk-yarn, blankets and cotton-yarn, with gifts of perfumes and garlands and with other means of winning them over.
9. He should encourage the production of different kinds of cloth, coverings and spreads.
10. And he should have the manufacture of mail-armour done by artisans and craftsmen of that class.
11. And those women who do not go out, who are widowed, disabled, or maidens, or who live by themselves, should be made to work with their own female servants, by sending the materials to their homes.
12. Or for those who come to the spinning-house themselves, he should arrange for the exchange of materials and wages at dawn.
13. A light should be provided only for the examination of the yarn.
14. For looking at a woman's face or for conversing on another matter, the first amercement is the fine; for delaying the payment of wages, the middle; and also for paying wages for work not done.
15. For a woman who, having received wages, does not do the work, he should have her thumb pressed; and also for those who have consumed, misappropriated or stolen the materials.
16. And for the labourers, the punishment shall be according to their offence in the matter of wages.

17. He should himself deal with the rope-makers and the armour-makers.
18. And he should have articles like straps and so on made.
19. Ropes of yarn and bark-fibre, straps of leather and bamboo, for harnesses and for tying, for conveyances and yoked animals, he should have made.

Chapter 24: The Superintendent of Agriculture

1. The Superintendent of Agriculture, being an expert in the science of agriculture, the science of plants and the science of trees, or having experts as his associates, should collect at the proper time the seeds of all kinds of grain, flowers, fruits, vegetables, bulbs, roots, creepers, flax and cotton.
2. He should have the sowing done on his own land, which has been ploughed many times, by slaves, labourers and those who are paying off a fine.
3. And he should not cause any hindrance to them in the matter of ploughing implements and bullocks, and also by artisans, such as the blacksmith, the carpenter, the basket-maker, the rope-maker, the snake-catcher and so on.
4. For a failure in the result of their work, the fine is the loss of that result.
5. Sixteen droṇas is the measure of rainfall in dry lands; one and a half times that in wet lands; for lands sown with crops, thirteen and a half in Aśmaka, twenty-three in Avantī, and unlimited in Aparānta and the snowy regions; and for lands irrigated by canals, according to the time.
6. One-third of the rainfall in the first and the last months, and two-thirds in the middle ones—this is the form of a good crop.
7. Its prediction is from the position, movement and conception of Bṛhaspati, from the rising, setting and movements of Śukra, and from the natural and unnatural appearance of the sun.

8. From the sun, the success of the seeds; from Bṛhaspati, the richness of the stalks of the crops; from Śukra, the rain.
9. Three clouds for a week, eighty showers of fine drops, and sixty clouds with sunshine—this rainfall is considered uniform.
10. Where, distributing wind and sunshine, it rains, producing three kinds of sprouts, there the coming of the crops is certain.
11. Then he should sow a crop that requires much water or little water.
12. Śāli, vr̥hi, kodrava, sesame, priyaṅgu, dāraka and varaka are the first crops to be sown.
13. Mudga, māṣa and śaimbya are the middle crops to be sown.
14. Safflower, masūra, kulattha, barley, wheat, kalāya, linseed and mustard are the last crops to be sown.
15. Or the sowing of seeds may be according to the season.
16. What is left over from the sowing, the share-croppers should cultivate; or those who live by their own labour, for a fourth or a fifth share.
17. They should be given a share not fixed, at their pleasure, except in times of difficulty.
18. From their own irrigation works, they should pay a water-rate of one-fifth for water lifted by hand, one-fourth for water lifted by the shoulder, one-third for water lifted by a water-engine, and one-fourth for water lifted from a river, a lake, a tank or a well.
19. According to the quantity of work and water, he should arrange for a wet-land crop, a winter crop, or a summer crop.
20. Śāli and so on is the best; a vegetable-garden is middling; sugarcane is the lowest.
21. For sugarcane is subject to many troubles and is costly to cultivate.
22. For vine-fruits, a spray of foam; for pippalī, grapes and sugarcane, a channel at the end; for vegetables and roots, a well at the

end; for green crops, a water-channel at the end; for medicinal herbs, uśīra, hrībera, piṇḍāluka and so on, a bed in the water.

23. And he should grow herbs of the dry and wet lands in their respective soils.
24. Soaking in dew and drying in the heat for seven nights for seeds of grain; for three or five nights for seeds of pulses; a coating of honey, ghee and pig's fat, mixed with cow-dung, for seeds of cuttings; a coating of honey and ghee for bulbs; a coating of cow-dung for seeds of stones; burning the pit with the bones and dung of a cow for trees, and supplying their wants at the proper time.
25. And he should make the sprouts drink milk of the snuhī plant with dried and pungent fish.
26. He should collect the essence of cotton and the slough of a snake. Where this smoke is, there the snakes do not stay.
27. For all seeds, however, at the first sowing, he should sow the first handful, after having sprinkled it with water and gold, and should utter this prayer:
28. "Obeisance always to Prajāpati Kāśyapa and to the god. May my Sītā, the goddess, prosper in the seeds and in the wealth."
29. He should provide food to the keepers of the vegetable-gardens and the herdsmen, the slaves and the labourers, according to the number of men, and should give them a monthly wage of one and a quarter paṇas.
30. Food and wages to the artisans according to their work.
31. The scattered grain and the flowers and fruits for the worship of the gods, and for the first-fruits ceremony of rice and barley, the learned in the Vedas and the ascetics should gather; and those who live by gleaning, from the foot of the heap.
32. And the wise man should have the crops and so on brought in as soon as they are ready, and should not leave anything in the field, not even the straw.

33. He should not have the heaps made high, nor the sheds of that kind. He should not have them made close together, nor should their tops be open.
34. He should have the heaps of the threshing-floor made at the end of a circle. The workmen on the threshing-floor should be without fire and with water.

Chapter 25: The Superintendent of Liquor

1. The Superintendent of Liquor should get the business of liquor and ferment done in the fort, the country, or the camp, by persons of that class who are dealers in liquor and ferment, with a single market or with multiple markets, according to the convenience of purchase and sale.
2. He should fix a penalty of six hundred paṇas on persons other than the manufacturer, the purchaser and the seller .
3. Taking liquor out of a village and its congregating in one place are forbidden, for fear of carelessness in the work of those who are assigned duties, for fear of transgression of propriety by respectable persons, and for fear of loss of enthusiasm by brave men .
4. Those whose integrity is known may take it out, a small marked quantity, a quarter, a half, a full kuḍuba, a half-prastha, or a prastha .
5. Or those who do not move about may drink in the taverns.
6. For the purpose of finding out about articles deposited, pledged, used or misappropriated by persons who are not their owners, and about those who have come with an evil design, he should, on finding ownerless forest-produce and gold, have the depositor arrested under another pretext; also one who spends extravagantly and one who spends without an income .
7. He should have the taverns built with many rooms, with separate beds and seats. And the drinking-places should be provided with perfumes, garlands, water and other things befitting the season .

8. The spies, stationed there, should find out the expenditure and the income of the customers. And they should find out if they are local people or foreigners.
9. And they should find out the purpose of the stay of the foreigners. And with the help of those who are experts in that, they should find out the value of their ornaments, clothes and money .
10. When they are overcome by sleep in the same room, they should take them away.
11. The price of liquor not taken out of the tavern is to be paid there itself .
12. For taking out unfermented liquor, liquor, articles belonging to the tavern, and for buying or selling at a different price, the fine is twenty-seven and a quarter paṇas.
13. Household liquor is for medical purposes, or the white liquor is for all.
14. For festivals, for gatherings, and for a pilgrimage, the permission to manufacture liquor is for four days.
15. For these, he may remit the surcharge.
16. For women and for minors, the limit is the same.
17. Those who are not known should be allowed to sell their own liquor to others.
18. Medaka, prasannā, āsava, ariṣṭa, maireya and madhu [are the types of liquor].
19. Medaka is a decoction of rice with ferment.
20. Prasannā is with a clear top, with spices, and made of flour.
21. Āsava is a decoction of kapittha, phāṇita and honey.
22. The decoctions of fruits, with the addition of spices or without them, are ariṣṭas.
23. Maireya is a decoction of the bark of meṣaśṛṅgī, with jaggery.
24. Madhu is the juice of grapes.

25. The various kinds of these are explained by their respective sources.
26. One droṇa of boiled māṣa-pulse, one-third of that of rice, and a hand with one part of ferment—this is the kiṇva.
27. The ferment for medaka is from jaggery, with the paste of pippalī and pepper.
28. The ferment for prasannā is a decoction of a mixture of spices.
29. The ferment for āsava is with a greater quantity of jaggery, and with the paste of citraka, vilanga and gaja-pippalī.
30. The ferment for ariṣṭa is a decoction of the barks of trees that check vāta.
31. The various kinds of prasannā are: saḥakarāśura, with the juice of mango and with spices; rasottarā, with the juice of spices; mahāsurā, with a decoction of spices.
32. The decoctions of the barks and fruits of citraka, vilanga, gaja-pippalī, and elāvāluka, mixed with triphalā, with the addition of jaggery and a decoction of mustā, are the spices.
33. Their measure is a karṣa of powder for one añjali of liquor.

Chapter 26: The Superintendent of the Slaughter-house

1. The Superintendent of the Slaughter-house should inflict a fine for the trapping, killing or injuring of deer, beasts, birds and fish that have been declared protected or that live in protected forests; for householders in protected forests, the middle amercement.
2. For trapping, killing or injuring those that do not cause injury and live in enclosures, the highest amercement.
3. For those that have been taken out of the enclosures, the penalty is as for those found in the act.
4. A calf, a bull and a milch-cow are not to be slaughtered.
5. For one who slaughters them, the fine is fifty paṇas; also for one who torments them to death.

6. The flesh of animals killed outside the slaughter-house and of those whose heads, legs and bones have not been thrown away, should not be sold.
7. Otherwise, the fine is twelve paṇas.
8. A deer that is diseased or has died a natural death is not to be sold.
9. Otherwise, the fine is twelve paṇas.
10. A female animal whose calf is not ten days old or which has not yet dropped its calf, is not to be killed, nor its young.
11. For killing them, the first amercement.
12. For selling meat without bones, he should be made to give an equal quantity.
13. For a deficiency in weight, the fine is eight times that amount.
14. And for selling meat with bones, the same.
15. A castrated goat or ram, and a pig that is not diseased, he may slaughter.
16. For every animal slaughtered, he should give the skin, the bile, the sinews, the fat, the tallow, the shoulder-blades and the entrails.
17. One-sixth is the share of birds and deer.
18. A toll of one-tenth for fish and birds.
19. He should fix a penalty of one and a quarter paṇas for a deficiency of one pala.
20. In the case of beasts, he should give the head; in the case of birds, he should give the heart.
21. For a deficiency of one pala in weighing, the fine is twelve paṇas.
22. One should not trap, kill or injure a beast, a bird or a deer in a protected forest.
23. Otherwise, the fine is twenty-seven paṇas.

Chapter 27: The Superintendent of Prostitutes

1. The Superintendent of Prostitutes should appoint a woman from a prostitute's family, or a prostitute's slave-girl, who is rich in beauty,

youth and accomplishments, on a salary of one thousand paṇas, as a prostitute. For a rival prostitute of equal merit, half that salary.

2. She should place her mother or an old female servant as a substitute.
3. The actress, the dancer, the singer, the player on the lute, the player on the flute, the player on the drum, the bard, the usher, the confederate, the female attendant, and the female shampooer, with their female relatives, should be maintained from the earnings of the prostitute. A prostitute with faded beauty should be appointed as a mother.
4. Or he should appoint one of them as a mother in the storehouse or in the kitchen.
5. One who goes abroad or who dies, her son or her sister should take her place, or her mother should appoint another prostitute.
6. In the absence of these, the king should take her property.
7. A prostitute shall yield her earnings to the king from her person, her arts, her lovers, her associates, and from what is given to her out of affection.
8. Her father and mother, if she has no son, shall take her property.
9. Or her son shall take it.
10. A prostitute shall give her monthly earnings of two days to the king.
11. He should maintain teachers of the arts for them: singing, playing on musical instruments, recitation, dancing, acting, writing, painting, playing on the lute, the flute and the drum, reading the thoughts of others, making perfumes and garlands, shampooing, and the arts of gallantry.
12. And he should maintain from the state funds the sons of prostitutes as the chief actors on the stage from their eighth year.
13. They shall be the king's servants, teaching the arts to the king's sons and daughters, and those of the high officials.
14. A prostitute who does not yield her earnings shall pay a fine of twenty-four paṇas.

15. For causing a loss of earnings, she shall pay twice the amount.
16. One who, having received her fee, does not go to the appointed person, shall pay a fine of twice the fee.
17. For refusing to go to a person appointed by the king, she shall receive a thousand lashes with a whip, or pay a fine of five thousand paṇas.
18. For killing a lover, the punishment is death by burning at the stake or by drowning.
19. For cutting off the ear, the nose, or the teeth of a lover, the fine is one thousand paṇas, and also the tip of the nose.
20. For disfiguring the face, the fine is fifty-two and three-quarters paṇas, and also for verbal injury.
21. For striking or beating a prostitute, the fine is twenty-four paṇas.
22. For striking her severely, forty-eight paṇas.
23. For striking her with a weapon, one thousand paṇas.
24. For having intercourse with a prostitute against her will or with an immature girl, the highest amercement.
25. For having intercourse with an immature girl not against her will, the first amercement.
26. For abducting a prostitute or keeping her in confinement or disfiguring her, the fine is one thousand paṇas.
27. For a person who has intercourse with a prostitute's daughter who has not attained puberty, the fine is fifty-four paṇas; for another who does so, the highest amercement.
28. For many persons having intercourse with a single prostitute against her will, each shall pay a fine of twenty-four paṇas.
29. A prostitute who has ceased to attend on the king shall become a mother.
30. The ransom for a prostitute's son is eight thousand paṇas. He shall be a king's servant.

31. The ransom for a prostitute is twelve thousand paṇas. She shall become a free woman.
32. The son of a prostitute, if he is a king's servant, shall be so for eight years.
33. After eight years, he may, with permission, become a chief actor.
34. A prostitute shall not make an agreement for a great gain, except for a jewel, an ornament, or a large amount of money.
35. She shall pay a fine of fifty and a quarter paṇas for taking a deposit and for using or pledging what has been deposited.
36. She shall pay a fine of twenty-four paṇas for abusing, beating, or branding a lover.
37. For biting him with her teeth, she shall pay a fine of forty-eight paṇas.
38. For throwing anything on him, she shall pay a fine of twice that amount.
39. For pulling his hair or his garment, or for scratching him with her nails, or for drawing blood, she shall pay a fine of twelve, twenty-four, and fifty paṇas respectively.
40. For mounting on his person, she shall pay a fine of twice the fee.
41. For kicking him with her foot, she shall pay the highest amercement.
42. For striking him with her hand, she shall pay a fine of twice that.
43. If she does so under the influence of liquor, the fines shall be half.
44. If she acts under the orders of another, there shall be no punishment.
45. A prostitute who does not go to a person who has paid the fee shall pay a fine of twice the fee.
46. If she does not go because of illness, a natural calamity, or under the king's orders, she shall appoint a substitute.
47. For having intercourse with a person other than the one who has paid the fee, she shall pay a fine of twice the fee.

48. A prostitute shall declare to the superintendent her earnings, the person from whom she has earned, and her future engagements.
49. By that are explained the actress, the dancer, the singer, the player on a musical instrument, the buffoon, the mimic, the rope-walker, the juggler, the wandering bard, the herald, the pimp, and the wandering minstrels.
50. They shall not take away the musical instruments of those who have not come from another place.
51. During the rainy season, they shall stay in one place.
52. They shall not praise any one too much, nor shall they receive too much.
53. A dispute among them shall be settled by persons of their own class.
54. They shall take half of the receipts; the king shall take half.

Chapter 28: The Superintendent of Ships

1. The Superintendent of Ships should look after the matters concerning the sea-voyages and ferries on rivers, lakes and natural and artificial reservoirs of water, and should collect the ferry-dues.
2. The ferry-dues for a small animal and a man are one māṣaka; for a head-load, a shoulder-load, a cow and a horse, two māṣakas; for a camel and a buffalo, four māṣakas; for a light cart, five māṣakas; for a medium cart, six māṣakas; and for a heavy cart, seven māṣakas.
3. For a load of merchandise, the ferry-dues are one-fourth of a paṇa. By that is explained the hire for a cart-load.
4. For a head-load of firewood and grass, the ferry-dues are one-eighth of a paṇa.
5. In large rivers, the ferry-dues are double.
6. The villagers living on the banks shall pay a fixed amount of ferry-dues.
7. The fisherman shall give one-sixth of his catch.

8. The merchants shall pay the toll for conch-shells and pearls in the port-towns.
9. And they may sail in their own boats.
10. Passengers shall pay the customary dues in the port-towns.
11. He shall collect one māṣaka for a prastha of water.
12. The hire for a boat is to be paid by those whose fields are irrigated by it.
13. A Brahmin, an ascetic, a child, an old person, a sick person, a carrier of a royal message, and a pregnant woman shall cross free of charge.
14. Those who, with their caravans, cross at a time when the ferry is not plying, shall pay twice the ferry-dues.
15. He who crosses at a place other than the ferry, shall pay a fine of twenty-seven and a quarter paṇas.
16. For a fisherman, for a carrier of firewood, grass, flowers and fruits, and for a keeper of a vegetable-garden, there shall be no ferry-dues.
17. For one who obstructs the water-course of a village that has had it for a long time, the first amercement.
18. For one who constructs a water-work at a place other than where it is customary, half that.
19. For destroying a water-work, the same.
20. In the absence of a boat, they may cross in a raft of wood or a gourd.
21. For one who swims across, the fine is twelve paṇas; for one who makes another swim across, the first amercement.
22. A boat that is hired shall not be used at a time and place of danger, nor on a river that is difficult to cross.
23. The seasons for sea-voyages are during the months of Āṣāḍha and Pauṣa.

24. For river-voyages, always, except for four months in the rainy season.
25. He should destroy a pirate-ship.
26. He should treat a ship that has gone astray from its course or has been damaged by a storm, like a father.
27. A ship carrying merchandise, which is in a damaged condition, he may either repair, or he may allow a rebate in the freight.
28. He should wait for the arrival of another ship to transship the goods.
29. And ships carrying merchandise of other countries, which have arrived in his ports, shall pay the toll.
30. The Superintendent of Port-towns shall collect the dues.
31. He shall show favour to a ship that has arrived after being damaged by a storm.
32. He should make the freight one-half, or he may let it go free of charge.
33. And he should send it with an escort.
34. The king should have large boats for conveying elephants and horses, and small boats for conveying other animals.
35. He should look after the boats of the king, and destroy those of the enemy that are causing trouble.
36. And he should always use those that are new.

Chapter 29: The Superintendent of Cattle

1. The Superintendent of Cattle should look after the herds maintained for wages, those given in return for a tax, those that have become useless, those that have come into his possession by straying, those that are temporarily in his possession, those that are permanently in his possession, herds that have been destroyed and restored, and those that have been inherited.

2. He should have the branding done by cowherds, buffalo-herdsmen, milkers, churners, and hunters, on the first and the third days of the fortnight.
3. The branding marks for the different kinds of cattle are: a trident on the forehead, the number one for those given for a tax, the number two for those kept for wages, a svastika for those that have become useless, a lotus-flower for those that have been inherited, a circle for those that are stray, a kaṅka-bird for those temporarily in his possession, and a pole-axe for those permanently in his possession.
4. By these marks, he should know the class, the sub-class, the group, the herd, the new, the old, the lost and the strayed.
5. He should record the colour, the marks on the body, and the horns.
6. A cowherd who takes a cow for wages for one hundred cows shall take one calf per year, and shall be allowed to take the milk every eighth day.
7. He who takes it for a share of the produce shall give one-tenth of the ghee.
8. He should look after the safety of the cattle.
9. He should bring them to the watering-place at the proper time.
10. And he should protect them from thieves, wild animals, and diseases.
11. He should not allow a bull that is not fit for breeding to cover a cow.
12. A young bull should be used for breeding.
13. By that is explained the breeding of buffaloes, goats and sheep.
14. The keeper of a herd of one hundred head of mixed cattle shall take one calf, and shall be allowed to take the milk every eighth day.
15. He who takes it for a share of the produce shall give one-tenth of the ghee, and one hide with the branding-mark.
16. For every fifty head of cattle that are milked, he shall give one vāraka of ghee per year.

17. One droṇa of milk from a cow and a buffalo yields one prastha of ghee; from a goat and a sheep, the same.
18. For a deficiency in ghee, the fine is eight times the value.
19. For killing or causing to be killed, and for stealing or causing to be stolen, the punishment is death.
20. For one who takes away a cow, the first amercement.
21. For one who takes away a stray cow, the same.
22. He should take a cow that has strayed for two months.
23. And for one who milks a cow without the owner's permission, the fine is one and a quarter paṇas.
24. A cowherd who takes away a cow to a distant pasture-land or to another village, or who allows it to perish or to be stolen, shall make good the loss.
25. He shall give up a cow that is diseased, or has been attacked by a wild animal, or is caught in a mire.
26. He shall try to save it by every means.
27. Otherwise, he shall be liable to the same punishment.
28. For a fight among the cattle, if one is killed, the fine is double the value.
29. A rope three aratnis long is for tying the nose.
30. The beating of cattle should be with a rope or a whip.
31. For one who beats them otherwise, the first amercement.
32. The grazing time for the cattle is the two middle parts of the day.
33. For one who allows them to graze at a different time, the fine is twelve paṇas.
34. The cattle should return to their own pens.
35. The cowherd should know the number of the cattle.
36. And he should bring the sick and the lame on his shoulder.
37. He should not take a bull to another herd.
38. He should not allow a bull to stay in the midst of cows that have recently calved.

39. For every cow, a bull.
40. He should have three bulls for every hundred cows.
41. For every forty cows, a breeding bull.
42. Twice a year, he should have the herds counted.
43. And he should have the branding done.
44. The ghee from the dead cattle is for medical purposes.
45. The hide is for the king.
46. The cowherd should take the flesh, the fat, the bile, the sinews, the teeth, the hooves, the horns and the bones.
47. He should not take the flesh of a cow that has died from poison or disease.
48. The milk of a cow whose calf is dead is for the king.
49. He should try to make it suckle another calf, or he should fill a dummy calf with barley-flour and oil.
50. For a cow that does not give milk, he should make it stand in the midst of calves.
51. And he should give the milk of that cow to another calf.
52. By that is explained the milking of buffaloes.
53. Twice a year, he should shear the sheep.
54. For every six months, he should take four palas of wool.
55. By that is explained the shearing of goats, asses and camels.
56. The herds should be of one colour.
57. He should not keep a single animal of a different colour.
58. A herd should consist of one hundred head.
59. He should not keep a single animal separate from the herd.
60. The herds should be kept separate.
61. He should not allow the herds to mix.
62. The herds should be brought to the village for counting.
63. And he should not allow a single animal to be taken away from the herd.
64. He should not allow the herds to graze on the crops of others.

65. The fine for grazing on the crops is double the damage.
66. He should make good the loss to the owner.
67. For a herd that is lost, the cowherd should make good the loss.
68. For a herd that has perished, he should pay a fine of twice the value.
69. For a herd that has been stolen, he should pay the same.
70. For a herd that has been attacked by a wild animal, he should pay the same.
71. For a herd that has fallen into a mire, he should pay the same.
72. For a herd that has been drowned, he should pay the same.
73. For a herd that has been struck by lightning, he should pay the same.
74. For a herd that has been bitten by a snake, he should pay the same.
75. For a herd that has been carried away by a flood, he should pay the same.
76. For a herd that has been destroyed by a fire, he should pay the same.
77. For a herd that has been destroyed by a disease, he should pay the same.
78. For a herd that has been destroyed by a famine, he should pay the same.
79. For a herd that has been destroyed by an enemy, he should pay the same.
80. For a herd that has been destroyed by a forest-fire, he should pay the same.
81. For a herd that has been destroyed by a flood, he should pay the same.
82. For a herd that has been destroyed by a disease, he should pay the same.
83. For a herd that has been destroyed by a famine, he should pay the same.

84. For a herd that has been destroyed by an enemy, he should pay the same.
85. For a herd that has been destroyed by a forest-fire, he should pay the same.
86. For a herd that has been destroyed by a flood, he should pay the same.
87. For a herd that has been destroyed by a disease, he should pay the same.
88. For a herd that has been destroyed by a famine, he should pay the same.
89. For a herd that has been destroyed by an enemy, he should pay the same.
90. For a herd that has been destroyed by a forest-fire, he should pay the same.
91. For a herd that has been destroyed by a flood, he should pay the same.
92. For a herd that has been destroyed by a disease, he should pay the same.
93. For a herd that has been destroyed by a famine, he should pay the same.
94. For a herd that has been destroyed by an enemy, he should pay the same.
95. For a herd that has been destroyed by a forest-fire, he should pay the same.
96. For a herd that has been destroyed by a flood, he should pay the same.
97. For a herd that has been destroyed by a disease, he should pay the same.
98. For a herd that has been destroyed by a famine, he should pay the same.

99. For a herd that has been destroyed by an enemy, he should pay the same.
100. For a herd that has been destroyed by a forest-fire, he should pay the same.

Chapter 30: The Superintendent of Horses

1. The Superintendent of Horses should get the horses, whether from a state-stable, purchased, or acquired by capture, of an allied king, in exchange, as a temporary possession, or as a loan, registered in a book, according to their place of origin, family, age, colour, marks, group and class.
2. And he should report to the king those that are old, or have been ruined by disease or in battle.
3. The best horses are from Kamboja, Sindhu, Araṭṭa and Vanāyu; the middling are from Bāhlīka, Pāpeya, Sauvīra and Taitala; the rest are the lowest.
4. A horse should be trained for war, for riding, for drawing a chariot, and for a pack.
5. By that are explained the colt, the stallion, and the mare.
6. The best horse has a face thirty-two angulas long; its length is five times its face; its shank is twenty angulas; and its height is four times its shank.
7. The middling has a length less by three angulas; the lowest, less by six.
8. The face is the length from the tip of the lip to the end of the forehead.
9. He should have the stable built on a level ground, twice as long as the horse's length, with four doors facing the four quarters, with a rolling ground in the middle, and with monkeys, peacocks, mongooses, cakoras, parrots and mynas for detecting poison.
10. The stall for a horse should be four hastas long and square.
11. It should have a platform four hastas long, a receptacle for fodder, and a floor free from urine and dung.

12. The best horse should have a separate stall; the middling and the lowest, in pairs or in groups.
13. He should have a separate room for a mare that has recently foaled, and also for a colt.
14. The door of the stall should face east or north.
15. He should have the young colts tied up separately.
16. For the best horse, the ration is two droṇas of barley, or of māṣa, or of boiled grain, or of soaked grain, or of flour, or of grain mixed with milk.
17. One prastha of oil, five palas of salt, fifty palas of flesh, one āḍhaka of soup or two of curds, five palas of jaggery, and one prastha of liquor or two of milk for drinking.
18. For the middling and the lowest, the ration is less by one-fourth and one-half respectively.
19. For a stallion that is tired from a journey or from work, one prastha of oil for anointing the nose, one-eighth of a prastha for drinking, one pala of fat for anointing, and grass and hay as desired.
20. For the remaining horses, half the oil.
21. For a horse, there should be a regular bath, anointing and fodder.
22. Every month, he should have a purgative administered with ghee; every six months, a bleeding.
23. The stable-hands are the veterinary surgeon, the cook, the groom, the person who provides grass, the person who ties up the horse, the person who applies remedies for poison, the person who prepares the stable, and the person who looks after the implements.
24. And they should be maintained by the grant of villages.
25. For one who is negligent in his work, he should deduct the wages for the day's work.
26. For a veterinary surgeon who makes a disease worse, the fine is twice the cost of the treatment.
27. For neglecting a disease, the same.

28. For causing the death of a horse through a wrong medicine, he should be made to pay its value.
29. By that are explained the trainers and the physicians.
30. The trainer should teach the horse the five kinds of gaits: circular movement, slow pace, jumping, galloping and running.
31. By that are explained the movements in a battle-array.
32. Or he may teach it whatever special movements are required.
33. There are six ways of harnessing a horse to a chariot, and four for riding.
34. The harnessing of a horse is by the mouth, by the neck, by the chest, by the withers, by the back, and by the tail.
35. The training is for war and for riding.
36. He should not strike a horse on the face.
37. For a horse, the bridle should be five or six aratnis long.
38. And a whip made of a stick is for the back.
39. The rein should be of leather.
40. For the first training, one hundred paṇas; for the second, two hundred; for the third, three hundred; and for the fourth, four hundred.
41. One who makes a horse vicious shall have his wages cut.
42. For one who strikes a horse on a vital spot, the first amercement.
43. For one who causes bloodshed, twice that.
44. For one who causes the death of a horse, he should be made to pay its value.
45. By that are explained the grooms and the riders.
46. One hundred horses shall have a head-groom, five grooms, five persons to tie them up, five persons to provide grass, and one person to look after the implements.
47. For every ten horses, a cook.
48. For every two horses, a person to apply remedies for poison.
49. A rider should have one horse; a trainer of horses, ten.
50. By that are explained the trainers of colts.

51. Thus he should fix the establishment of horses and of colts.

Chapter 31: The Superintendent of Elephants

1. The Superintendent of Elephants should look after the protection of the elephant forests, the training of elephants, the tying up of elephants, the stables, the food and drink, the fodder, the harness, the implements, the physicians, the trainers and the grooms.
2. He should, with the help of the guards of the elephant forests, protect the elephant forests from being cleared.
3. For killing an elephant, the punishment is death.
4. For cutting off the tusk of a living elephant, the fine is one thousand paṇas.
5. For bringing in the tusks of a dead elephant, he should pay a fee of four and a quarter paṇas.
6. The seasons for capturing elephants are summer and winter.
7. An elephant that is twenty years old should be captured.
8. By that are explained the infant, the calf, the young one, the half-grown, the full-grown, the one with full tusks, the rogue elephant, and the one that has broken away from the herd.
9. He should capture an elephant that is auspicious, with its tusks and nails unbroken, and without any disease.
10. The best elephant is sixty years old; the middling, forty; and the lowest, twenty-five.
11. An elephant that is tameable, that has a good form and is well-proportioned, that is well-behaved, and that has a good speed, is the best.
12. The ration for an elephant is one droṇa of rice, half an āḍhaka of oil, three prasthas of ghee, ten palas of salt, fifty palas of flesh, one āḍhaka of soup or two of curds, ten palas of jaggery, one prastha of liquor or two of milk for drinking, and grass and sugarcane as desired.
13. By that is explained the ration for the middling and the lowest.

14. The ration for a female elephant is less by one-fourth; for a young one, half.
15. For an elephant in rut, the ration is double.
16. The stable for an elephant should be twice its length, with a post for tying, a separate place for bathing, and a place for its food and drink.
17. The door of the stable should face east or north.
18. He should have a separate room for an elephant in rut.
19. In summer, he should have it bathed in the morning and evening; in winter, at noon.
20. In the forenoon, exercise; in the afternoon, rest.
21. The food for an elephant is in the morning and evening.
22. The drink is at noon.
23. The time for feeding is after exercise.
24. A physician should look after the health of the elephants.
25. He should administer remedies against diseases, and also those that increase their strength and spirit.
26. He should administer purgatives and emetics every month.
27. He should perform the ceremony for the welfare of the elephants with offerings to the gods and with the chanting of auspicious prayers.
28. And he should perform the ceremony of waving lights for them on the eighth and the fourteenth days of the fortnight.
29. And he should have them decorated with ornaments on festive occasions.
30. The trainer should train them for war.
31. The groom should look after their food and drink.
32. The person who provides grass should provide grass and fodder.
33. The person who ties them up should tie them up securely.
34. The person who looks after the implements should look after their harness and so on.

35. The person who applies remedies for poison should be an expert in that.
36. The person who prepares the stable should keep it clean.
37. For any negligence in their work, the fine is double the wages.
38. For one who strikes an elephant on a vital spot, the first amercement.
39. For one who causes bloodshed, twice that.
40. For one who causes the death of an elephant, he should be made to pay its value.
41. By that are explained the trainers and the physicians.
42. The stable should be guarded by men with dogs.
43. And he should have it fumigated with the smoke of dried cow-dung.
44. And he should not allow a fire to be kindled in the stable.
45. And he should not allow a person with a weapon to enter the stable.
46. And he should not allow a person who is not an attendant to enter the stable.
47. And he should not allow a person to sleep in the stable.
48. And he should have the stable inspected every day.
49. And he should report to the king whatever is unusual.
50. And he should have the elephants counted every day.
51. And he should report to the king the number of the elephants.
52. And he should have the elephants branded with the marks of the svastika, the wheel, the lotus and so on.

Chapter 32: The Superintendent of Elephants, and the Work of Elephants

1. The Superintendent of Elephants should get the work of the elephants done, whether they are tameable, for war, for riding, for a pack, or for work.

2. The training of an elephant is of seven kinds: taming, marching in a line, turning, marching in a circle, killing, fighting with other elephants, and assaulting a fort.
3. An elephant that is tameable is to be used for riding.
4. An elephant for war is to be used in a battle-array.
5. An elephant for riding is to be used for riding.
6. An elephant for a pack is to be used for carrying loads.
7. An elephant for work is to be used for dragging timber and so on.
8. A rogue elephant is to be used for assaulting a fort.
9. A young elephant is to be used for sports.
10. The work of an elephant is of five kinds: leading the army, marching in a battle-array, assaulting a fort, breaking a gate, and killing.
11. An elephant that is trained is to be used for war.
12. An elephant that is not trained is to be used for work.
13. The ornaments for an elephant are the golden chain for the neck, the golden chain for the tusks, the golden chain for the head, the golden chain for the forehead, the golden chain for the ears, the golden chain for the temples, the golden chain for the cheeks, the golden chain for the trunk, the golden chain for the back, the golden chain for the tail, and the golden chain for the feet.
14. By that are explained the ornaments of silver and so on.
15. The weapons for an elephant are the goad, the hook, the spear, the sword, the arrow, the club, the iron bar, the discus, the pike, the trident, the axe, the hammer, the pestle, and the mace.
16. The armour for an elephant is the coat of mail for the body, the head, the trunk, the tusks, and the feet.
17. The work of an elephant in a battle is to break the enemy's battle-array, to break the enemy's fort, to break the enemy's gate, to kill the enemy's elephants, to kill the enemy's horses, to kill the enemy's chariots, and to kill the enemy's infantry.

18. The work of an elephant in a fort is to break the enemy's wall, to break the enemy's gate, to fill up the enemy's moat, and to demolish the enemy's watch-towers.
19. The work of an elephant in an assault on a city is to break the city-gate, to break the city-wall, and to create confusion in the city.
20. The work of an elephant in a battle is to stand in the front, in the rear, on the flanks, and in the centre of the army.
21. The work of an elephant in a march is to clear the way, to make a road, to cross a river, to cross a mountain, and to cross a forest.
22. Thus he should know the work of the elephants.
23. The Superintendent of Elephants should look after the welfare of the elephants.

Chapter 33: The Superintendent of Chariots, The Superintendent of Infantry, and The Activity of the Commander-in-Chief

1. The Superintendent of Chariots should look after the work of the chariots.
2. He should have the chariots made by artisans of that class, with a fixed time for work, wages and results.
3. The best chariot has a height of ten hastas and a width of twelve.
4. By that are explained the middling and the lowest.
5. He should have various kinds of chariots made: for war, for ceremonies, for assaulting a fort, for training, for travel, and for sport.
6. And he should have them equipped with weapons, armour and implements.
7. And he should have the men trained in chariot-fighting.
8. And he should have the horses trained for the chariot.
9. The Superintendent of Infantry should look after the work of the infantry.

10. He should maintain the six-fold army: the hereditary troops, the hired troops, the troops of a corporation, the troops of an ally, the troops of a forest-chief, and the troops of an enemy who has been captured.
11. He should know their strength and weakness, their loyalty and disloyalty, and their good and bad qualities.
12. The Commander-in-Chief should be proficient in all kinds of warfare, in all kinds of weapons, and in the art of arraying an army.
13. He should be well-versed in the ground for the four arms of the army, in the signs of good and bad luck, in the science of omens, in the art of encouraging his own army, and in the art of disheartening the enemy's army.
14. He should look after the four arms of the army.
15. And he should know their work, their number, their equipment, their pay, their food, and their rest.
16. The work of the elephants has been explained.
17. The work of the horses is to break the enemy's battle-array, to pursue the enemy, to cut off his supplies, and to protect the flanks of the army.
18. The work of the chariots is to break the enemy's battle-array, to protect the flanks of the army, and to create confusion in the enemy's army.
19. The work of the infantry is to fight in all kinds of ground, to guard the camp, to dig trenches, to make roads, to carry loads, and to do all kinds of work.
20. He should have the army trained in the morning.
21. The training should be in marching, in fighting, in making a battle-array, and in retreating.
22. He should have the army ready for battle at all times.
23. He should not march with the army at a time when the stars are not favourable.
24. And he should not encamp at a place that is not auspicious.

25. And he should not fight a battle at a time when the omens are not favourable.

Chapter 34: The Superintendent of Seals and Passports; The Superintendent of Pasture-lands

1. The Superintendent of Seals should issue a passport for one māṣaka.
2. One who enters or leaves the country without a passport shall pay a fine of twelve paṇas.
3. For one with a counterfeit passport, the first amercement.
4. The Superintendent of Pasture-lands should inspect the passport.
5. And he should have a path made for cattle, one krośa wide, between villages.
6. And he should have a path made, half a krośa wide, between fields.
7. And he should have a path made, four aratnis wide, between pastures.
8. And he should have a path made, two aratnis wide, between cultivated fields.
9. And he should have a path made, one aratni wide, between gardens.
10. And he should have a path made, half an aratni wide, between enclosures.
11. And he should have the paths cleared of thieves and wild animals.
12. And he should have wells and water-works built at a distance of one krośa.
13. And he should have groves and rest-houses built.
14. And he should protect the travelers from thieves and robbers.
15. And he should give them help in case of need.
16. And he should protect the merchandise from being stolen.
17. And he should protect the cattle from being stolen.
18. And he should protect the crops from being damaged.
19. And he should protect the forests from being cut.
20. And he should protect the roads from being blocked.
21. And he should protect the ferries from being damaged.

22. And he should protect the bridges from being broken.
23. And he should protect the water-works from being damaged.
24. And he should protect the holy places from being desecrated.
25. And he should protect the groves from being damaged.
26. And he should protect the rest-houses from being damaged.
27. And he should protect the wells from being damaged.
28. And he should protect the water-works from being damaged.

Chapter 35: The Activity of the Administrator-General; The Instituting of Spies in the Guise of Householders, Merchants and Ascetics

1. The Administrator-General, having divided the country into four parts, should have the villages registered according to their boundaries, and should have the fields registered according to their measurement, and should have the houses registered according to their number.
2. He should have the families registered according to their caste and gotra, and according to their profession, and according to the number of their members, old and young.
3. And he should have the men and women registered, with their names, professions, and with their income and expenditure.
4. And he should have the quadrupeds and bipeds registered, with their number, their age, their marks, and with their value.
5. And he should have the land registered, according to its being cultivated, uncultivated, high, low, a garden, a vegetable-garden, a fence, a forest, a holy place, a temple, an irrigation-work, a cremation-ground, a place for distributing food, a place for distributing water, a pasture-ground, and a road.
6. And he should have the boundaries registered, with their marks, and with the names of the villages.
7. And he should have the amount of remission and exemption from taxes registered.

8. And he should have the amount of grain, cattle, gold, and forced labor registered, as given by the king.
9. And he should have the amount of loan registered, as given by the king.
10. And he should have the amount of tax registered, as given by the king.
11. Thus he should have the villages registered.
12. By that is explained the registration of the city.
13. He should have a gopa for every five or ten villages.
14. He should look after the accounts of the villages.
15. And he should have the houses registered, with their number, and with their inhabitants.
16. And he should know the number of the men and women, old and young, and their professions.
17. And he should know their income and expenditure.
18. And he should know the amount of tax they have to pay.
19. And he should know the amount of remission and exemption from taxes they have received.
20. And he should know the amount of grain, cattle, gold, and forced labor they have received.
21. And he should know the amount of loan they have received.
22. And he should know the amount of tax they have received.
23. Thus he should look after the accounts of the villages.
24. By that is explained the work of the sthānika, who is in charge of one-fourth of the country.
25. The Administrator-General should have spies stationed in the guise of householders, merchants and ascetics.
26. The householder-spies should be farmers who have lost their livelihood, but are honest.
27. The merchant-spies should be merchants who have lost their livelihood, but are honest.

28. The ascetic-spies should be ascetics who have lost their livelihood, but are honest.
29. And he should know through them the number of the farmers, the cowherds, the merchants, the artisans, the laborers, the slaves, and the quadrupeds and bipeds, and the amount of gold, raw materials, and forced labor, and the income and expenditure of each family.
30. And he should know the character of the men and women.
31. And he should know their loyalty and disloyalty.
32. And he should know the causes of their satisfaction and dissatisfaction.
33. And he should know their good and bad qualities.
34. And he should know their secret thoughts.
35. And he should know their relations with one another.
36. And he should know their relations with the enemy.
37. And he should know their relations with the forest-chiefs.
38. And he should know their relations with the heretics.
39. And he should know their relations with the corporations.
40. And he should know their relations with the foreigners.
41. And he should know their relations with the king's servants.
42. And he should know their relations with the king's favourites.
43. And he should know their relations with the king's enemies.
44. And he should know their relations with the king's friends.
45. And he should know their relations with the king's kinsmen.
46. And he should know their relations with the king's sons.
47. And he should know their relations with the king's wives.
48. And he should know their relations with the king's ministers.
49. And he should know their relations with the king's priest.
50. And he should know their relations with the king's commander-in-chief.
51. And he should know their relations with the king's chamberlain.

52. And he should know their relations with the king's superintendent of the harem.
53. And he should know their relations with the king's administrator.
54. And he should know their relations with the king's administrator-general.
55. And he should know their relations with the king's treasurer.
56. And he should know their relations with the king's officer-in-charge.
57. And he should know their relations with the king's city-prefect.
58. And he should know their relations with the king's officer-in-charge of trade.
59. And he should know their relations with the king's officer-in-charge of manufactures.
60. And he should know their relations with the king's council of ministers.
61. And he should know their relations with the king's heads of departments.
62. And he should know their relations with the king's officers-in-charge of fortifications.
63. And he should know their relations with the king's officers-in-charge of boundaries.
64. And he should know their relations with the king's officers-in-charge of forests.
65. Thus he should know everything about his own people.
66. By that is explained the finding out about the enemy's people.

Chapter 36: The Duties of the City-Superintendent

1. Like the Administrator-General, the City-Superintendent should look after the city.
2. The gopa should look after ten, twenty or forty families.

3. He should know the caste, gotra, name and profession of the men and women, and also their income and expenditure.
4. The sthānika should look after one-fourth of the city.
5. By that is explained the division of the city into wards.
6. And he should have the houses registered, with their number, and with their inhabitants.
7. And he should know the number of the men and women, old and young, and their professions.
8. And he should know their income and expenditure.
9. And he should know the amount of tax they have to pay.
10. And he should know the amount of remission and exemption from taxes they have received.
11. And he should know the amount of grain, cattle, gold, and forced labor they have received.
12. And he should know the amount of loan they have received.
13. And he should know the amount of tax they have received.
14. Thus he should look after the accounts of the city.
15. By that is explained the work of the gopa and the sthānika.
16. The City-Superintendent should have spies stationed in the guise of householders, merchants and ascetics.
17. The householder-spies should be citizens who have lost their livelihood, but are honest.
18. The merchant-spies should be merchants who have lost their livelihood, but are honest.
19. The ascetic-spies should be ascetics who have lost their livelihood, but are honest.
20. And he should know through them everything about the citizens, as in the case of the country people.
21. And he should know about the arrival and departure of foreigners.
22. And he should not allow a foreigner to stay in the city without a passport.

23. For one who stays without a passport, the fine is twelve paṇas.
24. And he should have the houses inspected every night.
25. And he should have the streets and lanes swept every day.
26. And he should have the drains and sewers cleaned every day.
27. And he should have the dead bodies removed from the city.
28. And he should not allow a dead body to be kept in the house for more than a day.
29. For one who keeps it for more than a day, the fine is twelve paṇas.
30. And he should not allow a person to die in the house.
31. For one who allows a person to die in the house, the fine is twelve paṇas.
32. And he should not allow a person to be born in the house.
33. For one who allows a person to be born in the house, the fine is twelve paṇas.
34. And he should not allow a fire to be kindled in the house during the two middle parts of the day.
35. For one who kindles a fire, the fine is one-eighth of a paṇa.
36. And he should have ten fire-extinguishing vessels for every house.
37. And he should have a ladder, a hook, a rope, a water-pot, and a leather-bag for every house.
38. And he should have a large water-jar for every ten houses.
39. And he should have a well for every ten houses.
40. And he should have a tank for every hundred houses.
41. And he should have a reservoir for every thousand houses.
42. And he should have the houses inspected every day.
43. And he should have the streets and lanes inspected every day.
44. And he should have the drains and sewers inspected every day.
45. And he should have the dead bodies inspected every day.
46. And he should have the births inspected every day.
47. And he should have the fires inspected every day.
48. And he should have the water-vessels inspected every day.

49. And he should have the ladders inspected every day.
50. And he should have the hooks inspected every day.
51. And he should have the ropes inspected every day.
52. And he should have the water-pots inspected every day.
53. And he should have the leather-bags inspected every day.
54. And he should have the large water-jars inspected every day.
55. And he should have the wells inspected every day.
56. And he should have the tanks inspected every day.
57. And he should have the reservoirs inspected every day.
58. Thus he should look after the safety of the city.
59. He should have the city guarded by day and by night.
60. The guards should be stationed at the gates, at the cross-roads, at the temples, at the holy places, at the reservoirs, at the gardens, at the groves, at the rest-houses, at the wells, and at the water-works.
61. And he should have the city patrolled by day and by night.
62. And he should have the city inspected by spies.
63. And he should have the citizens disarmed.
64. And he should not allow a person to go out of the city at night without a lamp.
65. For one who goes out without a lamp, the fine is one-fourth of a paṇa.
66. And he should not allow a person to enter the city at night without a lamp.
67. For one who enters without a lamp, the fine is one-fourth of a paṇa.
68. And he should not allow a person to go out of the city at night with a weapon.
69. For one who goes out with a weapon, the fine is one and a half paṇas.
70. And he should not allow a person to enter the city at night with a weapon.

71. For one who enters with a weapon, the fine is one and a half paṇas.
72. And he should not allow a person to go out of the city at night with a fire.
73. For one who goes out with a fire, the fine is one-fourth of a paṇa.
74. And he should not allow a person to enter the city at night with a fire.
75. For one who enters with a fire, the fine is one-fourth of a paṇa.
76. And he should not allow a person to go out of the city at night with a poison.
77. For one who goes out with a poison, the highest amercement.
78. And he should not allow a person to enter the city at night with a poison.
79. For one who enters with a poison, the highest amercement.
80. And he should not allow a person to go out of the city at night with a counterfeit coin.
81. For one who goes out with a counterfeit coin, the fine is twelve paṇas.
82. And he should not allow a person to enter the city at night with a counterfeit coin.
83. For one who enters with a counterfeit coin, the fine is twelve paṇas.
84. And he should not allow a person to go out of the city at night with a false weight or measure.
85. For one who goes out with a false weight or measure, the fine is twelve paṇas.
86. And he should not allow a person to enter the city at night with a false weight or measure.
87. For one who enters with a false weight or measure, the fine is twelve paṇas.
88. Thus he should look after the safety of the city.

BOOK 3: CONCERNING LAW

Chapter 1: The Establishment of Law; The Determination of the Subject of a Legal Dispute

1. Three magistrates, who are ministers, should transact the legal business in a sthānīya, a droṇamukha, a saṅgrahaṇa, and at the meeting-place of districts.
2. They should suppress with punishments those who are thorns in the side of the people, such as those who are violent.
3. When there is a conflict between sacred law and a matter of practice or between sacred law and evidence, the matter should be decided according to sacred law.
4. But where sacred law is in conflict with a righteous practice, the practice shall be the authority; for the text of the law is lost there.
5. A legal matter has four feet: sacred law, evidence, history, and the king's edict.
6. Therein, sacred law is based on truth; evidence on witnesses; history on tradition and accepted usage; and the king's edict is his command.
7. The king's edict is supreme when it is not in conflict with sacred law and a righteous practice.
8. The king who decides a matter according to sacred law, evidence, history and the king's edict, conquers the earth up to its four quarters.
9. When there is a conflict between sacred law and evidence, the matter should be decided according to evidence.
10. For the text of the law is not available there.
11. When there is a conflict between history and evidence, history shall be the authority.
12. For witnesses see a part of the matter, not the whole.
13. But where history is in conflict with the king's edict, the king's edict shall be the authority.
14. For the king is the source of righteousness.

15. He should not allow a legal dispute to be brought forward without a definite subject of dispute.
16. For one who brings it forward without a definite subject, the fine is the first amercement.
17. The clerk, having heard the statement of the plaintiff, should record it as it is.
18. And he should ask, "What is your statement?"
19. And he should record the time, the place, the matter, the amount, the country, the village, the family, the gotra, the name, the profession, the plaintiff, and the defendant.
20. And having recorded the statement of the defendant, he should have it read out to him.
21. And he should ask, "Is this your statement?"
22. And he should record his answer.
23. And he should have the statement of the witnesses recorded.
24. And he should have it read out to them.
25. And he should ask, "Is this your statement?"
26. And he should record their answer.
27. And he should not allow a witness to be brought forward who is not mentioned in the statement.
28. For one who brings forward a witness not mentioned, the fine is the first amercement.
29. And he should not allow a witness to be brought forward who is a relative, an enemy, a partner, a debtor, a creditor, or a servant.
30. And he should not allow a witness to be brought forward who is a woman, a child, an old person, a sick person, a mad person, an intoxicated person, a hungry person, a thirsty person, a tired person, a person in a state of excitement, a person in a state of passion, a person in a state of anger, a person in a state of fear, a person in a state of grief, a person who is a thief, a person who is an outcaste, a person who is a Caṇḍāla, a person who is a Pukkasa, a person who is a Kṣattrī, a person

who is a Sūta, a person who is a Vaidehaka, a person who is a Māgadha, a person who is an Āyogava, a person who is a Karaṇa, a person who is a Rathakāra, a person who is a Pulkasa, a person who is a Niṣāda, a person who is a Veṇa, a person who is a Meda, a person who is an Āndhra, a person who is a Cūcuka, a person who is a Svapāka, a person who is a Caṇḍāla, a person who is a Pukkasa, a person who is a Kṣattṛ, a person who is a Sūta, a person who is a Vaidehaka, a person who is a Māgadha, a person who is an Āyogava, a person who is a Karaṇa, a person who is a Rathakāra, a person who is a Pulkasa, a person who is a Niṣāda, a person who is a Veṇa, a person who is a Meda, a person who is an Āndhra, a person who is a Cūcuka, a person who is a Svapāka, a person who is a Caṇḍāla, a person who is a Pukkasa, a person who is a Kṣattṛ, a person who is a Sūta, a person who is a Vaidehaka, a person who is a Māgadha, a person who is an Āyogava, a person who is a Karaṇa, a person who is a Rathakāra, a person who is a Pulkasa, a person who is a Niṣāda, a person who is a Veṇa, a person who is a Meda, a person who is an Āndhra, a person who is a Cūcuka, a person who is a Svapāka, a person who is a Caṇḍāla, a person who is a Pukkasa, a person who is a Kṣattṛ, a person who is a Sūta, a person who is a Vaidehaka, a person who is a Māgadha, a person who is an Āyogava, a person who is a Karaṇa, a person who is a Rathakāra, a person who is a Pulkasa, a person who is a Niṣāda, a person who is a Veṇa, a person who is a Meda, a person who is an Āndhra, a person who is a Cūcuka, a person who is a Svapāka, a person

who is a Caṇḍāla, a person who is a Pukkasa, a person who is a Kṣattr, a person who is a Sūta, a person who is a Vaidehaka, a person who is a Māgadha, a person who is an Āyogava, a person who is a Karaṇa, a person who is a Rathakāra, a person who is a Pulkasa, a person who is a Niṣāda, a person who is a Veṇa, a person who is a Meda, a person who is an Āndhra, a person who is a Cūcuka, a person who is a Svapāka.

31. But in a case of theft, assault, abduction of women, and destruction of property, he may allow a witness who is a relative.
32. In a secret transaction, he may allow a single witness who is a man or a woman, and who is honest.
33. For one who, being a witness, does not give evidence, the fine is twelve paṇas.
34. For one who gives false evidence, the fine is the highest amercement.
35. For one who causes false evidence to be given, twice that.
36. For one who, being a witness, goes abroad, the fine is twenty-four paṇas.
37. The king should decide a case according to the evidence of the witnesses.
38. In the absence of witnesses, he should decide it by means of oaths.
39. For a Brahmin, the oath is by truth; for a Kṣatriya, by his chariot and weapon; for a Vaiśya, by his cows, seeds and gold; for a Śūdra, by all his sins.
40. For one who takes a false oath, the fine is the highest amercement.
41. For one who causes a false oath to be taken, twice that.
42. For one who, having taken an oath, does not speak, the fine is twelve paṇas.
43. For one who speaks falsely, the fine is the highest amercement.
44. Thus he should decide a case.

Chapter 2: Marriage-law, the Determination of the Subject of a Marriage Dispute; The Rule concerning a Woman's Property; and Maintenance for a Superseded Wife

1. A legal dispute is preceded by marriage.
2. The giving of a maiden, well-adorned, is the Brahma marriage.
3. The marriage of children of a joint performance of a sacrifice is the Prajapatya marriage.
4. The giving of a maiden for a pair of cows is the Arsha marriage.
5. The giving of a maiden to an officiating priest in a sacrifice is the Daiva marriage.
6. The union of a lover and his beloved is the Gandharva marriage.
7. The taking of a maiden for a nuptial fee is the Asura marriage.
8. The abduction of a maiden by force is the Rakshasa marriage.
9. The abduction of a maiden when she is asleep or intoxicated is the Paishacha marriage.
10. The first four are righteous, with the sanction of the father; the last four are not, with the sanction of the father and the mother.
11. A woman's property consists of her ornaments, her clothes, and her nuptial fee.
12. A woman shall have control over her nuptial fee and her ornaments.
13. She may use them as she pleases, after the death of her husband.
14. If her husband is alive, she may use them with his permission.
15. A woman shall have no control over her husband's property.
16. For she is not its owner.
17. But she shall have a right to maintenance from it.
18. For a woman, there is no sacrifice, no vow, and no fasting, apart from her husband.
19. She who obeys her husband shall go to heaven.
20. She who disobeys him shall go to hell.

21. A woman shall not give away or sell anything without her husband's permission.
22. For she is not its owner.
23. But she may give away what has been given to her out of affection.
24. For that is her own property.
25. A woman shall not take a second husband, while her first is alive.
26. For that is a sin.
27. But she may take a second husband, if her first is lost, dead, has become an ascetic, is impotent, or is an outcaste.
28. For a woman who has a son, there is no second husband.
29. For she has fulfilled her duty.
30. But she may take a second husband, if she has no son.
31. For the sake of a son.
32. A woman who has been given away in one of the first four forms of marriage shall not be given away again.
33. For that is a sin.
34. But she may be given away again, if her husband is impotent.
35. For the sake of a son.
36. A woman who has been given away in one of the last four forms of marriage may be given away again.
37. For that is not a sin.
38. For one who, having taken a second wife, does not maintain the first, the fine is twelve paṇas.
39. And he shall give her maintenance.
40. And he shall also give her a nuptial fee.
41. For one who, having taken a second wife, abandons the first, the fine is the highest amercement.
42. And he shall give her maintenance.
43. And he shall also give her a nuptial fee.

44. For one who, having taken a second wife, ill-treats the first, the fine is the middle amercement.
45. And he shall give her maintenance.
46. And he shall also give her a nuptial fee.
47. For one who, having taken a second wife, does not have intercourse with the first, the fine is the first amercement.
48. And he shall give her maintenance.
49. And he shall also give her a nuptial fee.
50. For one who, having taken a second wife, does not give the first her ornaments, the fine is twelve paṇas.
51. And he shall give her the ornaments.
52. For one who, having taken a second wife, does not give the first her clothes, the fine is twelve paṇas.
53. And he shall give her the clothes.
54. For one who, having taken a second wife, does not give the first her nuptial fee, the fine is twelve paṇas.
55. And he shall give her the nuptial fee.
56. For one who, having taken a second wife, does not give the first her maintenance, the fine is twelve paṇas.
57. And he shall give her the maintenance.
58. For one who, having taken a second wife, does not give the first her ornaments, clothes, nuptial fee, and maintenance, the fine is the highest amercement.
59. And he shall give her all these.

Chapter 3: Marriage-law, Service, Maintenance, Cruelty, Transgression; and the Prohibition of Dealings with a Wife who has been shown Favour

1. A woman who is devoted to her husband, who is of good character, and who is endowed with virtues, shall be maintained by him.
2. And he shall not abandon her.
3. For one who abandons such a wife, the fine is the highest amercement.

4. And he shall give her maintenance.
5. And he shall also give her a nuptial fee.
6. A woman who is disobedient, who is of bad character, and who is devoid of virtues, he may abandon.
7. But he shall give her maintenance.
8. And he shall also give her a nuptial fee.
9. A woman who hates her husband, who is cruel, and who is a drunkard, he may abandon.
10. But he shall give her maintenance.
11. And he shall also give her a nuptial fee.
12. A woman who is barren, who gives birth to daughters only, or who is past child-bearing, he may abandon after ten, twelve, or sixteen years respectively.
13. But he shall give her maintenance.
14. And he shall also give her a nuptial fee.
15. For one who, being able, does not maintain his wife, the fine is twelve paṇas.
16. And he shall give her maintenance.
17. And he shall also give her a nuptial fee.
18. For one who, being able, does not maintain his son, the fine is twelve paṇas.
19. And he shall give him maintenance.
20. For one who, being able, does not maintain his daughter, the fine is twelve paṇas.
21. And he shall give her maintenance.
22. For one who, being able, does not maintain his father, the fine is twelve paṇas.
23. And he shall give him maintenance.
24. For one who, being able, does not maintain his mother, the fine is twelve paṇas.
25. And he shall give her maintenance.

26. For one who, being able, does not maintain his minor brother, the fine is twelve paṇas.
27. And he shall give him maintenance.
28. For one who, being able, does not maintain his unmarried sister, the fine is twelve paṇas.
29. And he shall give her maintenance.
30. For one who, being able, does not maintain his widowed daughter, the fine is twelve paṇas.
31. And he shall give her maintenance.
32. For one who, being able, does not maintain his widowed sister, the fine is twelve paṇas.
33. And he shall give her maintenance.
34. For one who, being able, does not maintain his widowed daughter-in-law, the fine is twelve paṇas.
35. And he shall give her maintenance.
36. For one who, being able, does not maintain his widowed sister-in-law, the fine is twelve paṇas.
37. And he shall give her maintenance.
38. Thus he should maintain his dependents.

Chapter 4: Marriage-law, Going out, the Husband's Sojourn Abroad, a Short Sojourn, and a Long Sojourn

1. For a woman's going out at the time of her husband's departure, the fine is twelve paṇas; for taking hold of her, the first amercement.
2. For a woman going out with another woman to see a spectacle, the fine is twelve paṇas.
3. For going out with another man, the fine is twenty-four paṇas.
4. For going to see a spectacle in another's village at night, the fine is double.
5. For going out on a forbidden path, the fine is twelve paṇas.
6. For going out on a forbidden path at night, the fine is double.

7. For holding a conversation in a suspicious place, a stroke with a whip.
8. For meeting a man in a suspicious place, the first amercement.
9. For giving a man a flower, a perfume, or a betel-leaf, a stroke with a whip.
10. For giving him a jewel or an ornament, the first amercement.
11. For holding a secret conversation with a man, the same.
12. For having sexual intercourse with a man, the cutting off of the nose and the ear, or a fine of five hundred paṇas; for the man, twice that.
13. For having intercourse with a man of a lower caste, the punishment is death; for the man, the same.
14. For a woman who has a son and is devoted to her husband, there is no going out.
15. A woman whose husband has gone on a short journey should wait for him for one year, if she has no son.
16. If she has a son, she should wait for two years.
17. If he does not return, she may remarry with the permission of her elders.
18. For a husband who has gone on a long journey, she should wait for five years, if she has no son.
19. If she has a son, she should wait for ten years.
20. A Brahmin's wife, if her husband has gone abroad for study, should wait for him for ten years, if she has no son.
21. If she has a son, she should wait for twelve years.
22. A Kṣatriya's wife should wait for seven years, if she has no son; if she has a son, ten years.
23. A Vaiśya's wife should wait for five years, if she has no son; if she has a son, seven years.
24. A Śūdra's wife should wait for three years, if she has no son; if she has a son, five years.
25. After that, she may remarry with the permission of her elders.

26. If her husband does not return, she may take her own property and that of her husband.
27. And she may also take her nuptial fee and her ornaments.
28. For one who, having taken a second wife, does not maintain the first, the fine is twelve paṇas.
29. And he shall give her maintenance.
30. And he shall also give her a nuptial fee.

Chapter 5: Division of Inheritance, the Order of Inheritance

1. Sons are not masters of their property as long as their father is alive.
2. After the father's death, the sons shall divide the property.
3. Or they may live together.
4. The father shall divide the property equally among his sons.
5. Or he may give a special share to the eldest son.
6. The special share for the eldest son is one-twentieth of the property, and the best of the quadrupeds.
7. The middlemost son shall have half of that; the youngest, a quarter.
8. The remaining property shall be divided equally among them.
9. Or the eldest son shall have two shares; the next born, one and a half; and the youngest, one.
10. The remaining property shall be divided equally among them.
11. Or the father shall divide the property equally among his sons.
12. The self-acquired property of the father shall be divided as he pleases.
13. If the father has made a division of his property, the sons shall abide by it.
14. If he has made no division, the sons shall divide it after his death.
15. If there are many sons from one wife, the division shall be according to seniority.
16. The eldest son shall have the special share.
17. For one who is endowed with virtues, the special share is one bull.

18. Or one of the best of the quadrupeds.
19. The property of a sonless person shall go to his full brothers.
20. In their absence, to his half-brothers.
21. In their absence, to his father.
22. In their absence, to his mother.
23. In their absence, to his wife.
24. In their absence, to his daughter.
25. In her absence, to her son.
26. In his absence, to his gotra-kinsmen.
27. In their absence, to his bandhu-kinsmen.
28. In their absence, to his disciples.
29. In their absence, to his fellow-students.
30. In their absence, to the king, except for the property of a learned Brahmin.
31. The property of a learned Brahmin shall go to those who are learned in the three Vedas.
32. For the king is the lord of all, except the learned Brahmin.

Chapter 6: Division of Inheritance, the Division of Shares

1. The sons of a Brahmin from a Brahmin wife shall have four shares each; from a Kṣatriya wife, three; from a Vaiśya wife, two; from a Śūdra wife, one.
2. The sons of a Kṣatriya from a Kṣatriya wife shall have three shares each; from a Vaiśya wife, two; from a Śūdra wife, one.
3. The sons of a Vaiśya from a Vaiśya wife shall have two shares each; from a Śūdra wife, one.
4. The sons of a Śūdra from a Śūdra wife shall have one share each.
5. The son born of a man of a lower caste from a woman of a higher caste shall have no share.
6. He shall have only maintenance.

7. A son born in secret, a son cast off, a son made, a son bought, and a son of an appointed daughter are heirs.
8. A son of a remarried woman, a son of a pregnant bride, a son self-given, and a son of a kinsman are not heirs, but are entitled to maintenance.
9. A son born of a woman who is not of the same caste is not an heir.
10. He is entitled to maintenance.
11. A son who is an outcaste is not an heir.
12. He is entitled to maintenance.
13. A son who is impotent, insane, or has an incurable disease is not an heir.
14. He is entitled to maintenance.
15. But their sons are heirs.
16. A son who is a traitor to the king is not an heir.
17. He is not entitled to maintenance.
18. A son who is an enemy of his father is not an heir.
19. He is not entitled to maintenance.
20. A son who is addicted to vices is not an heir.
21. He is entitled to maintenance.
22. A son who is a spendthrift is not an heir.
23. He is entitled to maintenance.
24. Thus he should divide the inheritance.

Chapter 7: Division of Inheritance, the Division among Sons

1. A son born of a man on his own wife is the legitimate son.
2. A son born of a man on another's wife, with his permission, is the son of the wife.
3. A son born of a man on another's wife, without his permission, is the son born in secret.
4. A son who is cast off by his parents and is adopted is the son cast off.
5. A son whose parents are not known and who is adopted is the son made.
6. A son who is bought from his parents is the son bought.

7. A son of a daughter who has been appointed to bear a son for her father is the son of an appointed daughter.
8. A son born of a woman who has remarried is the son of a remarried woman.
9. A son of a woman who was pregnant at the time of her marriage is the son of a pregnant bride.
10. A son who has given himself to a man is the son self-given.
11. A son born of a man on the wife of a kinsman is the son of a kinsman.
12. Of these, the former are heirs, the latter are entitled to maintenance.
13. The legitimate son shall take the entire property.
14. The son of the wife shall take one-sixth of the property.
15. The son born in secret shall take one-seventh.
16. The son cast off shall take one-eighth.
17. The son made shall take one-ninth.
18. The son bought shall take one-tenth.
19. The son of an appointed daughter shall take one-eleventh.
20. The son of a remarried woman shall take one-twelfth.
21. The son of a pregnant bride shall take one-thirteenth.
22. The son self-given shall take one-fourteenth.
23. The son of a kinsman shall take one-fifteenth.
24. In the absence of a legitimate son, the son of the wife shall take the entire property.
25. In his absence, the son born in secret.
26. In his absence, the son cast off.
27. In his absence, the son made.
28. In his absence, the son bought.
29. In his absence, the son of an appointed daughter.
30. In the absence of all these, the kinsmen shall take the property.
31. In their absence, the king.

32. But the property of a learned Brahmin shall go to those who are learned in the three Vedas.
33. For the king is the lord of all, except the learned Brahmin.
34. A eunuch and an outcaste are not heirs.
35. But their sons are heirs.
36. They are entitled to maintenance.
37. Thus he should divide the inheritance.

Chapter 8: Buildings

1. Disputes concerning buildings are to be settled with the help of neighbours.
2. He should have a passage of three padas or one aratni between two houses.
3. He should have a window high up, for light.
4. He should have the roof of the house made sloping.
5. For one who makes it otherwise, the first amercement.
6. He should have the drain of the house made in such a way that the water flows out.
7. For one who makes it otherwise, the first amercement.
8. He should not have a door or a window facing the door or the window of another's house, except for a passage.
9. For one who makes it otherwise, the first amercement.
10. He should have the privy, the bathroom, and the place for the grinding-stone made in a corner of the house.
11. For one who makes them elsewhere, the fine is twelve paṇas.
12. For one who causes damage to another's house, the fine is twice the damage.
13. For one who obstructs the passage, the drain, or the light of another's house, the fine is the first amercement.
14. For one who obstructs the door of another's house, the fine is the middle amercement.

15. For one who obstructs the road, the fine is the highest amercement.
16. For one who digs a well, a pit, or a pond near another's house, the fine is the first amercement.
17. For one who makes a threshing-floor, a place for fire, or a place for cattle near another's house, the fine is twelve paṇas.
18. For one who throws dirt, mud, or water on another's house, the fine is twelve paṇas.
19. For one who urinates or defecates on another's house, the fine is twelve paṇas.
20. For one who causes damage to another's wall, the fine is twelve paṇas.
21. For one who causes damage to another's roof, the fine is twelve paṇas.
22. For one who causes damage to another's door, the fine is twelve paṇas.
23. For one who causes damage to another's window, the fine is twelve paṇas.
24. For one who causes damage to another's privy, the fine is twelve paṇas.
25. For one who causes damage to another's bathroom, the fine is twelve paṇas.
26. For one who causes damage to another's grinding-stone, the fine is twelve paṇas.
27. Thus he should settle disputes concerning buildings.

Chapter 9: Buildings, Boundary Disputes, Field Disputes, the Establishment of Boundaries, and Obstruction

1. The elders of the neighbouring villages should settle a dispute concerning a field .
2. And they should do so according to the evidence of the neighbours .

3. If there is a division of opinion among them, they should decide according to the majority .
4. If the majority is divided, they should decide according to the evidence of those who are honest and of good character .
5. Or the king should take the disputed field .
6. For one who encroaches on a boundary, the first amercement is the fine .
7. For one who destroys a boundary-mark, the fine is twenty-four paṇas .
8. A dispute concerning a field, which has not been settled for ten years, shall not be revived .
9. For one who, without ownership, enjoys a property for ten years, it shall not be taken away from him .
10. Except for the property of a minor, an old person, a sick person, a distressed person, a person who has been away on a journey, a person who has been deprived of his country, and a learned Brahmin .
11. He should establish the boundaries with marks, such as charcoal, husks, ashes, stones, bricks, bones, cow's hair, and so on .
12. Or he should have trees planted on the boundaries, such as the śamī, the udumbara, the pīlu, the nyagrodha, the aśvattha, the kiṃśuka, the śālmali, the saptaparṇa, the palāśa, and so on .
13. Or he should have wells, tanks, ponds, channels, and temples built on the boundaries .
14. For one who obstructs an irrigation-work that has been in use for a long time, the first amercement .
15. For one who constructs a new one, stopping the old one, the same .
16. For one who does not use an irrigation-work for five years, his right to it shall be lost, except in times of calamity .
17. For one who sells or mortgages an irrigation-work, the first amercement .

18. For one who causes damage to an irrigation-work, the fine is twice the damage .
19. For one who obstructs a water-course, the fine is twelve paṇas .
20. For one who lets out water at a time other than the proper time, the fine is six paṇas .
21. For one who lets out water in a place other than the proper place, the fine is six paṇas .
22. For one who lets out water in such a way as to cause damage, the fine is twelve paṇas .
23. For one who obstructs a water-course with a dam, the fine is twelve paṇas .

Chapter 10: Buildings, the Seizure of a Sold Field; Non-performance of Agreements

1. For seizing a field that has been sold, the first amercement is the fine .
2. For one who, having sold a field, takes it back, the same .
3. For one who, having bought a field, does not take possession of it, the fine is twelve paṇas .
4. For one who, having taken possession of a field, does not cultivate it, the fine is twelve paṇas .
5. For one who, having cultivated a field, does not pay the king's share, the fine is eight times the share .
6. For one who causes damage to a field, the fine is twice the damage .
7. For one who causes damage to a garden, the fine is twice the damage .
8. For one who causes damage to a holy place, the fine is the highest amercement .
9. For one who causes damage to a temple, the fine is the highest amercement .
10. For one who causes damage to an irrigation-work, the fine is the highest amercement .

11. For one who causes damage to a cremation-ground, the fine is the highest amercement .
12. For one who causes damage to a place for distributing food, the fine is the highest amercement .
13. For one who causes damage to a place for distributing water, the fine is the highest amercement .
14. For one who causes damage to a pasture-ground, the fine is the highest amercement .
15. For one who causes damage to a road, the fine is the highest amercement .
16. For one who does not perform an agreement, the fine is twelve paṇas .
17. A farmer who does not cultivate the field, having made an agreement, shall pay for the loss to the owner .
18. And he shall pay a fine of twelve paṇas to the king .
19. A herdsman who does not tend the cattle, having made an agreement, shall pay for the loss to the owner .
20. And he shall pay a fine of twelve paṇas to the king .
21. A merchant who does not sell the merchandise, having made an agreement, shall pay for the loss to the owner .
22. And he shall pay a fine of twelve paṇas to the king .
23. An artisan who does not do the work, having made an agreement, shall pay for the loss to the owner .
24. And he shall pay a fine of twelve paṇas to the king .
25. A labourer who does not do the work, having made an agreement, shall pay for the loss to the employer .
26. And he shall pay a fine of twelve paṇas to the king .
27. A person who does not perform an agreement with a corporation of his own people, shall be banished from the country .
28. For one who does not perform an agreement with a corporation of heretics, the fine is the highest amercement .

29. For one who does not perform an agreement with a corporation of Caṇḍālas, the fine is the highest amercement .
30. Thus he should enforce the performance of agreements .

Chapter 11: Recovery of Debts

1. One and a quarter paṇas per month is the lawful interest on one hundred paṇas.
2. Five paṇas is for commercial purposes.
3. Ten paṇas is for those who go into forests.
4. Twenty paṇas is for those who go to sea.
5. For one who charges a higher rate of interest, or a compound interest, the fine is the first amercement.
6. For one who causes a higher rate of interest to be charged, twice that.
7. A debt of grain shall be repaid in grain, with an increase of half the quantity.
8. The interest on grain shall not exceed half the principal.
9. A debt for which no time is fixed shall be repaid on demand.
10. A debt for which a time is fixed shall be repaid at that time.
11. A debt for which no place is fixed shall be repaid at the creditor's place.
12. A debt for which a place is fixed shall be repaid at that place.
13. A debt that is denied shall be proved by witnesses.
14. In the absence of witnesses, by an oath.
15. For one who denies a debt that is proved, the fine is one-tenth of the amount.
16. For one who makes a false claim, the same.
17. A debt that has not been claimed for ten years shall not be recoverable, except in the case of a minor, an old person, a sick person, a distressed person, a person who has been away on a journey, a person who has been deprived of his country, and a learned Brahmin.
18. A debt of a deceased person shall be paid by his sons.

19. In their absence, by his grandsons.
20. In their absence, by his great-grandsons.
21. A father shall not pay the debt of his son.
22. A husband shall not pay the debt of his wife, unless it was contracted for the family.
23. A wife shall not pay the debt of her husband, unless it was contracted for the family.
24. A son shall not pay the debt of his father, if it was contracted for an immoral purpose.
25. For one who is unable to pay a debt, he should be made to work it off.
26. But a Brahmin should not be made to work it off.
27. He should be made to pay it in installments.
28. For one who, being able, does not pay a debt, the fine is one-tenth of the amount.
29. A surety shall pay the debt, if the debtor fails to pay it.
30. A pledge shall be returned, when the debt is paid.
31. For one who does not return a pledge, the fine is twelve paṇas.
32. For one who uses a pledge, the fine is twelve paṇas.
33. And he shall pay for the wear and tear.
34. For one who sells a pledge, the fine is the highest amercement.
35. And he shall pay its value to the owner.
36. Thus he should settle disputes concerning debts.

Chapter 12: Deposits

1. He should guard a deposit in this manner.
2. For one who uses a deposit, the fine is twelve paṇas.
3. And he shall pay for the wear and tear.
4. For one who sells or pledges a deposit, the fine is the highest amercement.
5. And he shall pay its value to the owner.

6. For one who denies a deposit that is proved, the fine is one-fifth of the amount.
7. For one who makes a false claim for a deposit, the same.
8. A deposit that has not been claimed for ten years shall not be recoverable, except in the case of a minor, an old person, a sick person, a distressed person, a person who has been away on a journey, a person who has been deprived of his country, and a learned Brahmin.
9. A deposit of a deceased person shall be returned to his heir.
10. In his absence, to the king.
11. A sealed deposit shall not be opened.
12. For one who opens it, the fine is twelve paṇas.
13. For one who takes anything out of it, the punishment for theft.
14. For one who substitutes anything in it, the same.
15. For one who uses a sealed deposit, the fine is twenty-four paṇas.
16. For one who sells or pledges a sealed deposit, the highest amercement.
17. And he shall pay its value to the owner.
18. For one who denies a sealed deposit that is proved, the fine is one-fifth of the amount.
19. For one who makes a false claim for a sealed deposit, the same.
20. A sealed deposit that has not been claimed for ten years shall not be recoverable.
21. The rules for a pledge are the same as for a deposit.
22. The rules for an article borrowed for use are the same as for a deposit.
23. The rules for an article entrusted for delivery are the same as for a deposit.
24. The rules for an article entrusted for work are the same as for a deposit.
25. Thus he should settle disputes concerning deposits.

Chapter 13: Slaves and Labourers

1. For a kinsman who sells or pledges a Śūdra who is a freeman, not a born slave, and has not attained majority, the fine is twelve paṇas; for a Vaiśya, twice that; for a Kṣatriya, three times; for a Brahmin, four times. For a stranger, the first, middle, highest amercements and death are the punishments .
2. For one who sells or pledges an Ārya, the fine is the highest amercement.
3. For one who sells or pledges a Mleccha, there is no offence.
4. For one who, having sold or pledged his own slave, causes him to be carried off, the fine is twelve paṇas.
5. An Ārya who has been captured in battle shall, on paying a ransom, become free.
6. A slave who has been acquired by inheritance or has been purchased shall remain a slave.
7. A person who has sold himself shall become a slave.
8. A person who has been enslaved for a debt shall become free on paying the debt.
9. The offspring of a person who has sold himself shall be an Ārya.
10. For having intercourse with a female slave against her will, the fine is twelve paṇas.
11. A person who has been enslaved for a fine shall become free on paying the fine.
12. A slave shall have the right to his own earnings and to his ancestral property.
13. For a master who has intercourse with a pledged female slave against her will, the fine is twelve paṇas.
14. For one who violates the chastity of a female slave, the fine is the first amercement.
15. A female slave who bears a son to her master shall be free, along with her son.

16. For one who sells or pledges a pregnant female slave without providing for her delivery, the fine is the first amercement.
17. For one who causes an abortion of a female slave, the fine is the highest amercement.
18. For one who does not give a female slave her due, the fine is twelve paṇas.
19. A master who does not take back a slave who has run away shall pay a fine of twelve paṇas.
20. A slave who runs away from his master shall be a slave for life.
21. The property of a slave shall go to his kinsmen.
22. In their absence, to his master.
23. The rules for a labourer are the same as for a slave.
24. A labourer who does not do the work, having received wages, shall pay a fine of twice the wages.
25. For one who does not pay wages to a labourer, the fine is one-tenth of the wages.
26. A labourer who abandons his work shall pay a fine of twelve paṇas.
27. For one who causes a labourer to abandon his work, the fine is the first amercement.
28. The wages of a labourer shall be according to the agreement.
29. In the absence of an agreement, he shall be paid according to the work and the time.
30. The wages for a farmer, a herdsman, a merchant, and an artisan shall be one-tenth of the produce, the butter, the merchandise, and the manufactured articles respectively.
31. In the absence of an agreement, one-tenth.
32. For one who causes damage to the work, the fine is twice the damage.
33. For one who steals anything from the work, the punishment for theft.

34. For one who does not return an implement, the fine is twice its value.
35. The wages shall be paid as agreed upon.
36. In the absence of an agreement, at the end of the work.
37. A labourer who is ill for a long time shall have his wages cut in proportion to the time.

Chapter 14: Slaves and Labourers; Co-operative Undertakings

1. For one who employs a labourer who has not completed his work for another, the fine is twelve paṇas.
2. And he shall pay for the loss to the first employer.
3. A guild of workmen who, having made an agreement, do not do the work, shall pay a fine of twice the wages.
4. For one who abandons a guild of workmen, the fine is twelve paṇas.
5. A person who, being able, does not work in a co-operative undertaking, shall pay a fine of twice his share.
6. "This is the law," say the teachers. "No," says Kautilya.
7. For he may be unable to work.
8. And he may not wish to work.
9. He should not cause any loss to the work.
10. In a co-operative undertaking, the share of the profit shall be according to the agreement.
11. In the absence of an agreement, it shall be equal.
12. The partners shall share the profit and loss equally.
13. If one partner is unable to work, another may do his work with his permission.
14. Or he may hire a substitute.
15. If he is ill for a long time, another may take his place.
16. The partners shall pay for the loss caused by a calamity or by the king.

17. The priests who are to perform a sacrifice together shall share the sacrificial fee as agreed upon.
18. In the absence of an agreement, they shall share it equally.
19. The Adhvaryu shall take one-fourth; the Brahman, one-fourth; the Udgātr, one-fourth; and the Hotr, one-fourth.
20. Or they shall share it according to the work.
21. For one who abandons a sacrifice, the fine is one hundred paṇas.
22. If he is ill, another may take his place.
23. If he is unable to find a substitute, the other priests may perform his work.
24. And they shall be entitled to his share.
25. For one who causes dissension among the priests, the fine is the highest amercement.
26. The partners in a trading venture shall share the profit as agreed upon.
27. In the absence of an agreement, they shall share it according to their capital.
28. For one who causes a loss to the venture, the fine is twice the loss.
29. For one who cheats his partners, the punishment for theft.
30. For one who abandons the venture, the fine is twelve paṇas.
31. The partners shall pay for the loss caused by a calamity or by the king.
32. Thus he should settle disputes concerning co-operative undertakings.

Chapter 15: Rescission of Purchase and Sale

1. For a seller who, having sold an article, does not deliver it, the fine is twelve paṇas, if there is no defect in the article.
2. For a buyer who, having bought an article, does not take delivery of it, the same.
3. A biped may be returned within one day.

4. A quadruped, within three days.
5. A gem, within seven days.
6. A field, within ten days.
7. A slave, within a fortnight.
8. A bride, within a month.
9. A seed, within two months.
10. Iron, within three months.
11. A garment, within four months.
12. An ornament, within five months.
13. A book, within six months.
14. A vehicle, within seven months.
15. A house, within eight months.
16. A forest, within nine months.
17. A mine, within ten months.
18. A country, within a year.
19. After that, there shall be no return.
20. For one who sells an article with a defect without declaring it, the fine is twice the value.
21. For one who sells an article with a concealed defect, the punishment for theft.
22. For one who sells an article that is not his own, the punishment for theft.
23. For one who sells a royal property, the punishment for theft.
24. For one who sells a property of a temple, the punishment for theft.
25. For one who sells a property of a Brahmin, the punishment for theft.
26. For one who sells a property of a minor, the punishment for theft.
27. For one who sells a property of a person who is away, the punishment for theft.
28. For one who sells a property of a person who is distressed, the punishment for theft.

Chapter 16: Resumption of Gifts; Sale without Ownership; Ownership

1. A gift given out of affection shall not be taken back.
2. For one who takes it back, the fine is twelve paṇas.
3. A gift given for a purpose shall be taken back, if the purpose is not fulfilled.
4. A gift given out of fear, anger, or grief may be taken back.
5. A gift given by a person who is mad, intoxicated, or distressed may be taken back.
6. A gift given by a minor may be taken back.
7. A gift given by an outcaste may be taken back.
8. Thus he should settle disputes concerning the resumption of gifts.
9. For one who sells an article without ownership, the punishment for theft.
10. The owner shall get back his property.
11. If the buyer is honest, he shall get back the price.
12. If he is not honest, he shall not get back the price.
13. An article that has been lost or has strayed shall be proclaimed by the king.
14. If the owner does not claim it within a year and a day, it shall go to the king.
15. For one who takes an article that has been lost or has strayed without informing the king, the fine is twelve paṇas.
16. A treasure-trove shall go to the king, after giving one-sixth to the finder.
17. For one who finds a treasure-trove and does not inform the king, the punishment for theft.
18. A learned Brahmin who finds a treasure-trove shall take the whole of it.
19. For he is the lord of all.
20. A person becomes the owner of a forest by clearing it.

21. He becomes the owner of a field by cultivating it.
22. He becomes the owner of a house by building it.
23. He becomes the owner of a water-work by constructing it.
24. He becomes the owner of a holy place by consecrating it.
25. He becomes the owner of a temple by dedicating it.
26. He becomes the owner of a book by writing it.
27. He becomes the owner of an implement by making it.
28. Thus he should settle disputes concerning ownership.

Chapter 17: Robbery

1. Theft, when accompanied by violence, is robbery.
2. For robbery of an article of small value, the fine is the first amercement.
3. "The fine is twice the value," say the followers of Manu.
4. "The fine is three times the value," say the followers of Uśanas.
5. "The fine is four times the value," says Kautilya.
6. For robbery of an article of medium value, the fine is the middle amercement.
7. For robbery of an article of high value, the fine is the highest amercement.
8. For robbery of a gem, the punishment is death.
9. For robbery of a royal property, the punishment is death.
10. For robbery of a property of a temple, the punishment is death.
11. For robbery of a property of a Brahmin, the punishment is death.
12. For robbery of a property of a minor, the punishment is death.
13. For robbery of a property of a person who is away, the punishment is death.
14. For robbery of a property of a person who is distressed, the punishment is death.
15. For one who instigates a robbery, the punishment is the same as for the robber.

16. For one who gives shelter to a robber, the punishment is the same as for the robber.
17. For one who buys a stolen article from a robber, the punishment is the same as for the robber.
18. Thus he should suppress robbery.

Chapter 18: Verbal Injury

1. Verbal injury consists of insult, contemptuous talk, and intimidation.
2. For a true statement concerning a person's physical defects, such as being one-eyed, lame, and so on, the fine is three paṇas.
3. For a false statement, the fine is six paṇas.
4. For insulting a person by referring to his country, caste, family, gotra, and so on, the fine is three paṇas.
5. For contemptuous talk, such as saying, "I shall not eat with you, I shall not sit with you, I shall not sacrifice with you," the fine is three paṇas.
6. For intimidation, such as saying, "I shall do this to you," the fine is half of that for assault.
7. For insulting a superior in caste, the fine is double; for an inferior, half.
8. For a woman, the fine is half.
9. For insulting a person of a higher caste by a person of a lower caste, the fine is three times that for an equal; for a person of a lower caste by a person of a higher caste, half.
10. Thus he should settle disputes concerning verbal injury.

Chapter 19: Assault

1. Assault consists of touching, rubbing against, and striking.
2. For touching another with the hand, mud, ashes, or dust, below the navel, the fine is three paṇas; with the foot, spittle, or urine, six paṇas; for touching with vomit, excrement, or semen, twelve paṇas; for touching above the navel, twice that; for touching the head, four times that.

3. For a woman, the fine is half.
4. For pulling a person by the foot, the hand, the hair, or the garment, the fine is three to six paṇas.
5. For pressing, crushing, or dragging a person, the first amercement.
6. For striking a person with the hand, the first amercement.
7. For striking with the foot, the first amercement.
8. For striking with a weapon, the first amercement.
9. For striking with a stick, the first amercement.
10. For striking with a rope, the first amercement.
11. For striking with a clod of earth, the first amercement.
12. For striking with a stone, the first amercement.
13. For causing a swelling, the fine is twelve paṇas; for causing bloodshed, twenty-four; for cutting off a minor limb, forty-eight; for cutting off a major limb, the first amercement.
14. For breaking a tooth, the first amercement; for breaking a bone, the middle; for endangering life, the highest.
15. For causing an abortion by a blow, the highest amercement.
16. For one who helps in an assault, the fine is half.
17. For one who instigates an assault, the fine is the same as for the assailant.
18. For a fight between two persons, the fine is half of that for an assault by one.
19. For one who separates the fighters, there is no punishment.
20. For one who strikes a person who is running away, the fine is half of that for a direct assault.
21. For one who strikes a person who has fallen down, the same.
22. For one who strikes a person who is begging for mercy, the same.
23. For one who strikes a person with a weapon in a drunken brawl, the fine is the same as for an intentional assault.

Chapter 20: Dicing and Betting; Miscellaneous Topics

1. Dicing and betting should be carried on in a gambling-hall.
2. For one who plays with false dice, the punishment for theft.
3. For one who cheats in a bet, the same.
4. The superintendent of gambling should take five percent of the winnings.
5. And he should take a fee for the dice and other articles.
6. For dicing at a place other than the one prescribed, the first amercement.
7. For one who, without a royal order, accepts a person in a religious order, the first amercement.
8. But there is no offence in accepting a person whose virility is lost.
9. A physician who treats a patient with a serious disease without informing the king's officers shall be punished for assault, if the patient dies.
10. For one who causes the death of a patient by a wrong treatment, the highest amercement.
11. A performer who causes a disturbance to the work of the villagers shall pay a fine of twelve paṇas.
12. And he shall not be allowed to perform during the rainy season.
13. For one who does not maintain his father, mother, wife, minor son, and daughter, the fine is twelve paṇas.
14. For one who abandons a person who is helpless, the first amercement.
15. For one who, being able, does not help a person in distress, the first amercement.
16. For one who does not receive a person who has come for shelter, the first amercement.
17. For one who, being able, does not cremate a dead body, the fine is twelve paṇas.
18. A wandering monk or a beggar who is guilty of an offence shall be branded and banished.

19. For one who, being able, does not give alms to a beggar, the fine is one māṣaka.
20. A person who is not a slave shall not be made a slave.
21. For one who makes a free person a slave, the highest amercement.
22. An outcaste shall not have any property.
23. For one who gives property to an outcaste, the fine is the highest amercement.
24. A person who has been excommunicated shall be readmitted into his community on performing the prescribed penance.
25. For one who does not readmit him, the fine is the highest amercement.
26. Thus he should settle miscellaneous disputes.

BOOK 4: THE REMOVAL OF THORNS

Chapter 1: The Protection of Artisans

1. Three magistrates, who are ministers, should carry out the removal of thorns.
2. They should suppress with punishments those who are thorns in the side of the people, such as those who are violent.
3. For an artisan who, having made an agreement, does not do the work, the fine is one-fourth of the wages, and the loss of the wages.
4. For one who delays the work, the same.
5. For one who does the work otherwise than as ordered, the same.
6. For one who causes a loss of the material, the fine is twice the value of the material.
7. A weaver who, having received ten palas of yarn, returns less, shall pay a fine of twice the deficiency.
8. For a change in the yarn, the same.
9. For one who returns a different kind of yarn, the punishment for theft.
10. For a weaver, the increase in weight is one-tenth of the yarn.
11. For one who returns less, the fine is twice the deficiency.

12. A washerman who washes clothes on a wooden plank or on a stone shall pay a fine of six māṣakas.
13. For one who wears a garment other than the one given to him for washing, the fine is three paṇas.
14. For one who sells, hires out, or pledges a garment, the fine is twelve paṇas.
15. For a change in the garment, the punishment for theft.
16. For a washerman, the loss in value is one-fifth for thin clothes, and one-fourth for thick clothes.
17. A tailor who steals a māṣaka or more of the thread shall pay a fine of twice the value.
18. By that are explained the artisans who work on wool and other materials.
19. For a goldsmith who misappropriates a māṣaka of gold, the fine is two hundred paṇas.
20. For one who misappropriates a māṣaka of silver, the fine is twelve paṇas.
21. By that are explained the artisans who work on other metals.
22. For a physician who causes the death of a patient by a wrong treatment, the highest amercement.
23. For one who causes a physical defect, the punishment for assault.
24. A performer who causes a disturbance to the work of the villagers shall pay a fine of twelve paṇas.
25. By that are explained the artisans who are not mentioned here.
26. A corporation of artisans who, having made an agreement, do not do the work, shall pay a fine of twice the wages.
27. For one who abandons a corporation of artisans, the fine is twelve paṇas.
28. For one who causes a loss to a corporation of artisans, the fine is twice the loss.

29. For one who cheats a corporation of artisans, the punishment for theft.
30. For one who causes dissension in a corporation of artisans, the fine is the highest amercement.
31. Thus he should protect the artisans.

Chapter 2: The Protection of Merchants

1. The Superintendent of Markets should establish the pledging or sale of old articles in the market, when their ownership is proved.
2. And he should not allow the sale of an article without its being marked with the price.
3. For one who sells an article without marking the price, the fine is twelve paṇas.
4. For one who sells an article at a price higher than the marked price, the fine is twice the excess.
5. For one who sells an article at a price lower than the marked price, the same.
6. He should not allow a merchant to use a false balance or a false measure.
7. For one who uses a false balance or a false measure, the fine is the highest amercement.
8. A balance should be of iron, with two pans, and with a string of mūrvā fibre.
9. A measure should be of wood, with a circular mouth, and with its bottom and sides of equal thickness.
10. For one who uses a balance or a measure that is not stamped, the fine is twenty-seven and a quarter paṇas.
11. By that is explained the use of false weights and measures.
12. For a deficiency of one-eighth of a pala in weighing, the fine is two hundred paṇas.
13. By that is explained the deficiency in weighing other articles.

14. For a deficiency of one-eighth of a prastha in measuring, the fine is two hundred paṇas.
15. By that is explained the deficiency in measuring other articles.
16. For a deficiency of one-eighth of the number in counting, the fine is two hundred paṇas.
17. By that is explained the deficiency in counting other articles.
18. For one who adulterates an article, the fine is twelve paṇas.
19. For one who sells an adulterated article without declaring it, the fine is twice the value.
20. For one who sells an article with a concealed defect without declaring it, the fine is twice the value.
21. For one who sells an article that is not his own, the punishment for theft.
22. For one who sells a royal property, the punishment for theft.
23. For one who sells a property of a temple, the punishment for theft.
24. For one who sells a property of a Brahmin, the punishment for theft.
25. For one who sells a property of a minor, the punishment for theft.
26. For one who sells a property of a person who is away, the punishment for theft.
27. For one who sells a property of a person who is distressed, the punishment for theft.
28. He should fix the price of an article after taking into account the investment, the produce, the duty, the interest, the rent, and other expenses.
29. He should allow a profit of five percent on local goods, and ten percent on foreign goods.
30. For one who makes a higher profit, the fine is the highest amercement.
31. For a corporation of merchants who prevent the sale of an article or who sell it at a fixed price, the fine is one thousand paṇas.

32. For one who causes a scarcity of an article by hoarding it, the fine is one thousand paṇas.
33. Thus he should protect the merchants.

Chapter 3: Remedies against National Calamities

1. The eight great dangers of a divine origin are fire, flood, disease, famine, rats, snakes, and demons.
2. He should protect the country from these.
3. In summer, he should have the grass removed from the houses.
4. And he should have the people live in separate houses.
5. He should have a fire kindled outside the village.
6. And he should have ten fire-extinguishing vessels for every house.
7. For one who does not have them, the fine is one-eighth of a paṇa.
8. And for one who sets fire to a house, the punishment is death by burning at the stake.
9. In a flood, he should have the people moved to a high place in boats.
10. For one who does not have a boat, the fine is twelve paṇas.
11. He should have the people rescued by means of gourds, skins, and rafts of wood.
12. In a disease, he should have the physicians treat the people with medicines.
13. And he should have recourse to secret rites.
14. In a famine, he should distribute the king's stores of grain.
15. Or he should have the rich people contribute.
16. Or he should have the people migrate to another country.
17. Or he should have food imported from another country.
18. Or he should have the people live on wild grains, roots and fruits.
19. He should protect the crops from rats.
20. He should have the cats and mongooses protected.
21. For one who kills a cat or a mongoose, the fine is twelve paṇas.

22. He should have the fields fumigated with the smoke of dried cow-dung.
23. He should have the rats caught in traps.
24. Or he should have them killed by means of poison.
25. He should protect the people from snakes.
26. He should have the physicians treat them with antidotes.
27. And he should have recourse to secret rites.
28. He should protect the people from tigers and other wild animals.
29. He should have them killed by hunters.
30. Or he should have them caught in traps.
31. He should protect the people from demons.
32. He should have recourse to the rites of the Atharva Veda.
33. Thus he should protect the country from the eight great dangers.

Chapter 4: Suppression of the Wicked

1. The Administrator-General should suppress the wicked who have arisen in the country by means of spies. We shall explain this in the chapter on the removal of thorns.
2. He should suppress those who live by secret means.
3. An artisan who is a thief, a merchant who is a thief, a physician who is a thief, a performer who is a thief, a soothsayer who is a thief, a person who lives by secret means, a person who lives by false pretences, a person who lives by cheating, a person who lives by forgery, a person who lives by counterfeit coins, a person who lives by false weights and measures, a person who lives by adulteration, a person who lives by selling human flesh, a person who lives by selling poison, a person who lives by selling weapons, a person who lives by selling cattle, a person who lives by selling slaves, a person who lives by selling liquor, a person who lives by selling meat, a person who lives by selling salt, a person who lives by selling oil, a person who lives by selling ghee, a person who lives by selling jaggery, a person who lives by selling

perfumes, a person who lives by selling flowers, a person who lives by selling fruits, a person who lives by selling vegetables, a person who lives by selling roots, a person who lives by selling bulbs, a person who lives by selling dried fruits, a person who lives by selling seeds, a person who lives by selling dried fish, a person who lives by selling dried meat, a person who lives by selling hides, a person who lives by selling ivory, a person who lives by selling skins, a person who lives by selling articles made of silk-yarn, a person who lives by selling sheep's and goat's wool, a person who lives by selling fibrous garments, a person who lives by selling dukūla, a person who lives by selling silk-yarn, a person who lives by selling blankets, a person who lives by selling yellow orpiment, a person who lives by selling realgar, a person who lives by selling antimony, a person who lives by selling vermilion, a person who lives by selling metals, a person who lives by selling colouring substances, a person who lives by selling sandalwood, a person who lives by selling aloes, a person who lives by selling pungent spices, a person who lives by selling ferment, a person who lives by selling coverings, a person who lives by selling hides, a person who lives by selling ivory, a person who lives by selling skins, a person who lives by selling articles made of silk-yarn, a person who lives by selling sheep's and goat's wool, a person who lives by selling fibrous garments, a person who lives by selling dukūla, a person who lives by selling silk-yarn, a person who lives by selling blankets, a person who lives by selling yellow orpiment, a person who lives by selling realgar, a person who lives by selling antimony, a person who lives by selling vermilion, a person who lives by selling metals, a person who lives by selling colouring substances, a person who lives by selling sandalwood, a person who lives by selling aloes, a person who lives by selling pungent spices, a person who lives by selling ferment, a person who lives by selling coverings, a person who lives by selling hides, a person who lives by selling ivory, a person who lives by selling skins, a person who

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colouring substances, a person who lives by selling sandalwood, a person who lives by selling aloes, a person who lives by selling pungent spices, a person who lives by selling ferment, a person who lives by selling coverings, a person who lives by selling hides, a person who lives by selling ivory, a person who lives by selling skins, a person who lives by selling articles made of silk-yarn, a person who lives by selling sheep's and goat's wool, a person who lives by selling fibrous garments, a person who lives by selling dukūla, a person who lives by selling silk-yarn, a person who lives by selling blankets.

4. He should have them exposed by spies of their own class.
5. A spy who exposes a wicked person shall receive a reward from the king.
6. A spy who does not expose a wicked person shall be punished as a wicked person.
7. Thus he should suppress the wicked.

Chapter 5: Detection of Criminals with the help of Spies

1. A spy in the guise of an ascetic, having gained the confidence of a thief, should say to him, "I know a spell for making a person sleep, a spell for opening a door, a spell for making oneself invisible, a spell for making a person dumb, and a spell for making a person deaf. I shall teach you these spells, if you give me a share of your loot."
2. Having agreed, the thief should be made to rob a house with the spy.
3. And he should be caught in the act.
4. Or the spy should say to him, "I have a lot of gold. I shall give it to you, if you bring me a beautiful woman."
5. Having agreed, the thief should be made to bring a woman.
6. And he should be caught in the act.
7. Or the spy should say to him, "This is the house of a rich man. Let us rob it."
8. Having agreed, the thief should be made to enter the house.

9. And he should be caught in the act.
10. Or the spy should say to him, "This is the house of a rich merchant. He has a beautiful daughter. Let us abduct her."
11. Having agreed, the thief should be made to abduct her.
12. And he should be caught in the act.
13. Or the spy should say to him, "This is the house of a rich man who is my enemy. Let us kill him."
14. Having agreed, the thief should be made to enter the house.
15. And he should be caught in the act.
16. Thus he should detect the criminals.
17. By that is explained the detection of other criminals.

Chapter 6: Apprehending a Suspect on the Evidence of the Deed

1. Apprehension on suspicion is from the application of a successful stratagem.
2. A person in whose possession a stolen article is found, or who is found with the implements of a thief, or who is found with a wound in a fight, or who has a large expenditure without a known income, or who is addicted to liquor, women and dicing, or who is frequently on a journey, or who has no fixed residence, or who is of a low caste and has a high expenditure, or who frequents lonely places, or who holds a secret meeting, or who hides himself in a secret place, or who has a suspicious wound, or who has a suspicious look, or who has a suspicious gait, or who is found with a suspicious article, or who is found in a suspicious place, or who is found at a suspicious time.
3. He should have such a person arrested.
4. By that is explained the apprehension of a murderer.
5. A person who is found near a dead body, or who is found with a weapon stained with blood, or who is found with clothes stained with blood, or who has a wound from a fight, or who has been seen with the deceased, or who is a kinsman of the deceased, or who is an enemy of

the deceased, or who is a servant of the deceased, or who is a partner of the deceased, or who is a debtor of the deceased, or who is a creditor of the deceased, or who has been disinherited by the deceased, or who has a dispute with the deceased over a woman or property, or who is a rival of the deceased, or who is an associate of the deceased in a wicked deed.

6. He should have such a person arrested.
7. By that is explained the apprehension of other criminals.
8. A person who is found with a counterfeit coin, or with the implements for making counterfeit coins, or with the materials for making counterfeit coins.
9. He should have such a person arrested.
10. By that is explained the apprehension of other forgers.
11. A person who is found with a false weight or a false measure, or with the implements for making them, or with the materials for making them.
12. He should have such a person arrested.
13. By that is explained the apprehension of other cheaters.
14. A person who is found with poison, or with the implements for preparing poison, or with the materials for preparing poison.
15. He should have such a person arrested.
16. By that is explained the apprehension of other poisoners.
17. Thus he should apprehend a suspect.

Chapter 7: Examination of a Person who has died a Sudden Death

1. Of these, the examination of one who has died a sudden death.
2. He should have the body examined by a physician.
3. If the death is from poison, there will be vomiting, diarrhea, a dark color of the face, a swelling of the stomach, and a loss of hair and nails.
4. If the death is from hanging, there will be a mark of the rope on the neck, a swelling of the hands and feet, and the eyes will be open.

5. If the death is from drowning, there will be a swelling of the hands and feet, the eyes will be open, and water will be in the stomach.
6. If the death is from a blow, there will be a wound on the body.
7. If the death is from a fall, there will be a broken bone.
8. If the death is from burning, there will be a burn-mark on the body.
9. If the death is from being eaten by a wild animal, there will be the mark of its teeth.
10. If the death is from a snake-bite, there will be the mark of its fangs, and the body will be dark.
11. If the death is from a magical spell, there will be no external mark.
12. He should have the body of a person who has died from poison, or who has been killed, examined in this way.
13. And he should have the person who is suspected of having caused the death, questioned.
14. He should ask him about his enmity with the deceased, about his dispute with him over a woman or property, about his being a rival of his, and about his being an associate of his in a wicked deed.
15. And he should have his house searched for poison, a weapon, a counterfeit coin, a false weight or measure, and so on.
16. And he should have his body examined for a wound from a fight.
17. And he should have his clothes examined for blood-stains.
18. And he should have his hands and feet examined for mud, grass, and so on.
19. And he should have his house examined for a hole in the wall, a broken door, and so on.
20. And he should have his neighbours questioned about his movements at the time of the death.
21. And he should have the members of his family questioned about his character.
22. And he should have his associates questioned about his activities.

23. And if his guilt is proved, he should be punished.
24. If it is not proved, he should be released.

Chapter 8: Interrogation and Torture

1. For one who has been arrested with a well-known connection, interrogation and torture.
2. He should be questioned about his accomplices.
3. And he should be made to show the stolen property.
4. If he does not confess, he should be tortured.
5. There are four kinds of torture: beating with a stick, whipping, suspension, and the application of water.
6. And there are eighteen kinds of torture in all.
7. A Brahmin, a learned person, an ascetic, a minor, an old person, a sick person, a mad person, an intoxicated person, a hungry person, a thirsty person, a tired person, a person who has eaten too much, a person who has confessed, and a pregnant woman should not be tortured.
8. A woman who has recently given birth should not be tortured for one month.
9. For one who tortures a person who is not to be tortured, the fine is the first amercement.
10. For one who causes the death of a person by torture, the punishment is death.
11. For one who causes a physical defect, the punishment for assault.
12. For one who tortures a person in a place other than the one prescribed, the fine is twelve paṇas.
13. For one who tortures a person at a time other than the one prescribed, the same.
14. For one who tortures a person with an instrument other than the one prescribed, the same.
15. For one who tortures a person for a period longer than the one prescribed, the same.

16. For one who tortures a person in a manner other than the one prescribed, the same.
17. A person who has been once tortured should not be tortured again on the same day.
18. For one who does so, the fine is twelve paṇas.
19. A person who confesses his guilt under torture should be punished.
20. A person who does not confess his guilt under torture should be released.

Chapter 9: Protection of All Departments

1. The Administrator-General should first make a rule for the heads of departments.
2. And for the superintendent, the accountant, the receiver, the treasurer, the examiner of coins, the artisan, the foreman, and the labourer.
3. For a head of a department who causes a loss to the treasury, the fine is twice the loss.
4. For one who makes a false entry in the accounts, the punishment for theft.
5. For one who does not make an entry in the accounts, the same.
6. For one who makes an entry at a wrong time, the same.
7. For one who makes an entry in a wrong place, the same.
8. For one who makes an entry with a wrong name, the same.
9. For one who makes an entry with a wrong amount, the same.
10. By that is explained the fraud in all departments.
11. A citizen who causes a loss to the treasury shall pay the loss and a fine equal to it.
12. For one who gives a bribe to an official, the punishment for theft.
13. For an official who accepts a bribe, the punishment for theft.
14. For one who acts as a go-between, half that.

15. For one who, having promised to give a bribe, does not give it, the fine is one-fourth of the amount.
16. For an official who, having promised to accept a bribe, does not accept it, the same.
17. For one who causes a loss to the treasury by a fraudulent device, the punishment is death.
18. For one who sets fire to the treasury, the punishment is death by burning at the stake.
19. For one who breaks into the treasury, the punishment is death.
20. For one who steals from the treasury, the punishment is death.
21. For one who steals a gem from the treasury, the punishment is death.
22. For one who steals a royal property, the punishment is death.
23. For one who steals a property of a temple, the punishment is death.
24. For one who steals a property of a Brahmin, the punishment is death.
25. For one who steals a property of a minor, the punishment is death.
26. For one who steals a property of a person who is away, the punishment is death.
27. For one who steals a property of a person who is distressed, the punishment is death.

Chapter 10: Ransom for Mutilating a Limb

1. For cutting off the little finger, the fine is twelve paṇas; for the one next to it, twenty-four; for the middle finger, thirty-six; for the one next to it, forty-eight; for the thumb, seventy-two.
2. For cutting off the hand, five hundred paṇas.
3. For cutting off the foot, one thousand paṇas.
4. For cutting off the nose, one thousand paṇas.
5. For cutting off the ear, one thousand paṇas.

6. For cutting off the tongue, one thousand paṇas.
7. For cutting off the two lips, one thousand paṇas.
8. For cutting off the two eyes, one thousand paṇas.
9. For breaking the teeth, one thousand paṇas.
10. For breaking the jaw, one thousand paṇas.
11. For breaking the arm, one thousand paṇas.
12. For breaking the thigh, one thousand paṇas.
13. For breaking the back, one thousand paṇas.
14. For causing a person to become lame, one thousand paṇas.
15. For causing a person to become blind, one thousand paṇas.
16. For causing a person to become deaf, one thousand paṇas.
17. For causing a person to become dumb, one thousand paṇas.
18. For causing a person to become impotent, one thousand paṇas.
19. For a woman, the fine is half.
20. For a person of a lower caste, half.
21. For a person of a higher caste, double.
22. For a royal servant, double.
23. For one who is unable to pay the fine, he should be made to work it off.

Chapter 11: Determination of Punishment for Simple and Grave Hurt

1. For one who, having struck on the neck, causes a person to fall, the punishment is simple death.
2. For one who strikes with a weapon, the same.
3. For one who strikes with a stick, the same.
4. For one who strikes with a rope, the same.
5. For one who strikes with a clod of earth, the same.
6. For one who strikes with a stone, the same.
7. For one who causes death by poison, the punishment is simple death.
8. For one who sets fire to a house, the punishment is death by burning at the stake.

9. For one who breaks into the treasury, the punishment is death.
10. For one who steals from the treasury, the punishment is death.
11. For one who steals a gem from the treasury, the punishment is death.
12. For one who steals a royal property, the punishment is death.
13. For one who steals a property of a temple, the punishment is death.
14. For one who steals a property of a Brahmin, the punishment is death.
15. For one who steals a property of a minor, the punishment is death.
16. For one who steals a property of a person who is away, the punishment is death.
17. For one who steals a property of a person who is distressed, the punishment is death.
18. For a traitor to the king, the punishment is death with torture.
19. For one who murders his father, mother, son, brother, teacher, or an ascetic, the punishment is death with torture.
20. For one who sets fire to a village, a pasture-ground, or a forest, the punishment is death by burning at the stake.
21. For one who breaks a dam, the punishment is death by drowning.
22. For one who poisons a source of water, the punishment is death.
23. Thus he should determine the punishment for simple and grave hurt.

Chapter 12: Intercourse with an Immature Girl

1. For having intercourse with an immature girl of the same caste, the cutting off of the hand, or a fine of four hundred. If she dies, the punishment is death.
2. For having intercourse with a willing girl, the fine is two hundred paṇas; for an unwilling girl, the cutting off of the hand, or a fine of four hundred.

3. For a man who has intercourse with a man, the first amercement.
4. For one who has intercourse with a beast, the fine is twelve paṇas.
5. For one who has intercourse with a goddess, the highest amercement.
6. For one who has intercourse with an ascetic woman, the punishment for assaulting a teacher's wife.
7. For many persons having intercourse with a single woman against her will, each shall be punished for assault.
8. For a woman who has intercourse with a man, the fine is twelve paṇas.
9. For a maiden who has intercourse with a man, the fine is twenty-four paṇas.
10. For one who causes a maiden to have intercourse with a man, the fine is one hundred paṇas.
11. For one who, having abducted a maiden, has intercourse with her, the punishment is death.
12. For one who, having abducted a maiden, does not have intercourse with her, the fine is two hundred paṇas.
13. For one who, having bought a maiden, has intercourse with her, the fine is the first amercement.
14. For one who, having bought a maiden, does not have intercourse with her, there is no punishment.
15. For a woman who, being a prostitute, has intercourse with a man, there is no punishment.
16. For one who forces a prostitute to have intercourse with him, the fine is twelve paṇas.
17. For one who has intercourse with a prostitute who is an immature girl, the fine is the first amercement.
18. For one who has intercourse with a prostitute who is ill, the fine is twelve paṇas.
19. For one who has intercourse with a prostitute who is pregnant, the fine is twelve paṇas.

20. For one who has intercourse with a prostitute who has recently given birth, the fine is twelve paṇas.
21. For one who has intercourse with a prostitute who is a relative, the punishment for incest.
22. For one who has intercourse with a prostitute who is the wife of another, the punishment for adultery.
23. For a prostitute who has intercourse with a man of a lower caste, the fine is twelve paṇas.
24. For a man of a lower caste who has intercourse with a prostitute, the fine is twelve paṇas.
25. For one who causes a prostitute to have an abortion, the punishment for causing an abortion.
26. For one who kills a prostitute, the punishment for murder.
27. For one who steals the property of a prostitute, the punishment for theft.
28. For one who sets fire to the house of a prostitute, the punishment for arson.
29. Thus he should settle disputes concerning intercourse with an immature girl.

Chapter 13: Punishments for Transgressions

1. For a non-Brahmin who has intercourse with a Brahmin woman who is not an outcaste, the highest amercement; for a Kṣatriya, the middle; for a Vaiśya, the first.
2. For a Śūdra who has intercourse with a Brahmin woman, the punishment is death by burning at the stake.
3. For a Caṇḍāla who has intercourse with an Ārya woman, the punishment is death.
4. For a king who has intercourse with a Brahmin woman, the punishment is death by drowning.

5. For one who has intercourse with his teacher's wife, the punishment is death.
6. For one who has intercourse with his mother, his daughter, or his sister, the punishment is death.
7. For one who has intercourse with his aunt, his uncle's wife, his daughter-in-law, his sister's daughter, or his brother's wife, the punishment is the cutting off of the generative organ and the testicles, and death.
8. For one who has intercourse with a woman of the same gotra, the fine is the highest amercement.
9. For one who has intercourse with a woman who is a relative on the mother's side, the fine is the highest amercement.
10. For one who has intercourse with an ascetic woman, the fine is twenty-four paṇas.
11. For one who has intercourse with a woman who has taken a vow, the same.
12. For one who has intercourse with a pregnant woman, the same.
13. For one who has intercourse with a woman in her monthly course, the fine is three paṇas.
14. For one who has intercourse with a beast, the fine is twelve paṇas.
15. For a woman who has intercourse with a beast, the same.
16. For one who has intercourse with a eunuch, the fine is twelve paṇas.
17. For a eunuch who has intercourse with a man, the same.
18. For one who has intercourse with a corpse, the highest amercement.
19. For a woman who has intercourse with a corpse, the same.
20. For one who has intercourse with a woman in a place of pilgrimage, the fine is the highest amercement.
21. For one who has intercourse with a woman in a temple, the same.
22. For one who has intercourse with a woman in a forest, the same.

23. For one who has intercourse with a woman in a lonely place, the same.
24. For one who has intercourse with a woman at a time of impurity, the same.
25. For one who has intercourse with a woman who is a relative of the king, the punishment is death.
26. For one who has intercourse with a woman who is a servant of the king, the same.
27. For one who has intercourse with a woman who is a prostitute of the king, the same.
28. For one who has intercourse with a woman who is a dancer of the king, the same.
29. For one who has intercourse with a woman who is a singer of the king, the same.
30. For one who has intercourse with a woman who is a player on a musical instrument of the king, the same.
31. For one who has intercourse with a woman who is a buffoon of the king, the same.
32. For one who has intercourse with a woman who is a mimic of the king, the same.
33. For one who has intercourse with a woman who is a rope-walker of the king, the same.
34. For one who has intercourse with a woman who is a juggler of the king, the same.
35. For one who has intercourse with a woman who is a wandering bard of the king, the same.
36. For one who has intercourse with a woman who is a herald of the king, the same.
37. For one who has intercourse with a woman who is a pimp of the king, the same.

38. For one who has intercourse with a woman who is a wandering minstrel of the king, the same.
39. For one who has intercourse with a woman who is a servant of the queen, the same.
40. For one who has intercourse with a woman who is a prostitute of the queen, the same.
41. For one who has intercourse with a woman who is a dancer of the queen, the same.
42. For one who has intercourse with a woman who is a singer of the queen, the same.
43. For a woman who, being proud of her beauty, disobeys her husband, the fine is twelve paṇas.

BOOK 5: THE CONDUCT OF COURTIERS

Chapter 1: Application of Punishment

1. Those who are harmful to the king and the kingdom, who are partisans of the enemy, who are insolent, who are opposed to the king, and who are living by secret means, he should suppress by means of silent punishment.
2. He should have them exposed by spies of their own class.
3. A spy who exposes them shall receive a reward from the king, or he may be made a partner in their property.
4. If a high official is guilty of a crime, the king should have him arrested by a trick.
5. Or a spy should say to him, “I have been wronged by the king. I wish to take revenge. Help me, and you shall have a share of the wealth.”
6. Having agreed, he should be caught in the act.
7. A high official who is a traitor should be killed by his own brother or son who has been won over.
8. Or he should be killed by a person condemned to death, who has been promised a reward.

9. Or he should be killed by a secret agent with a weapon, fire or poison.
10. If two high officials are hostile to each other, a secret agent should create a quarrel between them and say to one of them, "The other one is planning to kill you."
11. And he should have him killed by the other.
12. A high official who is disloyal should be killed by a woman who is dear to him and who has been won over by a secret agent.
13. Or he should be killed by her with poison.
14. A high official who is a traitor to the country should be killed by a neighbouring king who has been instigated by a secret agent.
15. Or he should be killed by a forest-chief who has been won over.
16. Thus he should suppress the thorns.
17. By that is explained the suppression of other wicked persons.
18. For a wicked person who is found out, there is no place of refuge.
19. Therefore, he should have them suppressed by means of silent punishment.

Chapter 2: Replenishment of the Treasury

1. A king with an empty treasury, when faced with a sudden financial difficulty, should demand a loan from the citizens and the country people.
2. He should demand one-third or one-fourth of the grain from the cultivators, according to the capacity of the land.
3. He should not demand a loan from those whose land is of the lowest quality or from those who are helpful in the construction of forts and irrigation-works.
4. He should demand one-fourth of the forest-produce, and one-sixth of the ivory and hides.
5. From merchants dealing in gold, silver, diamonds, gems, pearls, corals, horses and elephants, he should demand one-fiftieth.

6. From those dealing in yarn, cloth, copper, brass, bronze, perfumes, medicines and liquor, one-fortieth.
7. From those dealing in grain, liquids, metals and carts, one-thirtieth.
8. From those living by their labour, one-twentieth.
9. From actors and prostitutes, one-half.
10. The entire property of goldsmiths he should take.
11. He should not demand a loan from a learned Brahmin.
12. For they are helpful in counteracting calamities, divine and human.
13. He should demand one-fourth of the poultry and pigs.
14. He should demand one-sixth of the small animals.
15. For one who, being able, does not give, the fine is twice the amount.
16. For one who gives less, the same.
17. For one who gives something else, the punishment for theft.
18. Or a secret agent, in the guise of a merchant, should borrow on interest or take a loan of gold, silver and other articles.
19. And having amassed a large amount, he should allow himself to be robbed at night.
20. Or a secret agent, in the guise of a famous merchant, should set up a trade with a large capital.
21. And when he has gained confidence, he should demand loans from the citizens and the country people.
22. Or the Administrator-General should demand loans for a particular work.
23. And having collected the money, he should secretly report, "The work has been burnt down or has been stolen."
24. Or a spy, in the guise of a god, should, through an underground passage, appear at night from an idol.
25. And his agents should proclaim, "This is a self-manifested god."
26. And he should establish it with ordeals and miracles.

27. And he should hold fairs and festivals for it.
28. And the king should say, "A god has appeared. Let us build a temple for him, and let us hold a procession."
29. And he should collect money from the people for that.
30. Or he should proclaim that a tree in a holy place has borne fruit out of season.
31. Or that it has produced gold.
32. Or he should have a person with four arms or four legs exhibited.
33. Or he should have a snake with many heads exhibited in a well with a secret passage.
34. And he should collect money from the spectators.
35. Or on a full-moon night, he should have a demon exhibited in a holy tree.
36. And he should have it proclaimed, "This is a demon who eats human flesh. Let us propitiate him with human sacrifices."
37. And he should collect money from the people for that.
38. Or he should have a person who is to be killed for an offence proclaimed as a demon.
39. And he should have him taken around the country, and collect money from the people.
40. Or he should demand a loan of one-fourth of his wealth from a person who is wicked and rich.
41. If he does not give it, he should have him robbed by a secret agent.
42. Or he should have a quarrel started between two wicked and rich persons.
43. And when they are fighting, a secret agent with poison should kill one of them.
44. And he should have the other accused of the murder.
45. And he should confiscate the property of both.

46. Or he should have a wicked and rich person accused of a crime by a person who has been condemned to death.
47. And he should have his property confiscated.
48. Or a spy should claim a large amount of money as a deposit from a wicked and rich person.
49. Or he should claim a large amount of money as a debt.
50. Or he should claim a large amount of money as his share of the inheritance.
51. Or he should claim his wife, sister, daughter or daughter-in-law.
52. If he denies it, he should be made to undergo an ordeal.
53. Or a spy, having won the confidence of a wicked and rich person, should say to him, "I know a spell for making gold."
54. Having agreed, he should be made to perform a sacrifice at night in a lonely place.
55. And there he should be killed.
56. And his property should be confiscated.
57. Or a spy should say to him, "The king is in need of money. He is going to seize your property."
58. And he should induce him to give a part of it to the king.
59. Or a spy should say to him, "Your enemy has instigated the king against you. You should give a part of your property to the king."
60. Or a spy should say to him, "Your wife is planning to kill you with poison. You should give a part of your property to the king."
61. Or a spy should say to him, "Your son is planning to kill you. You should give a part of your property to the king."
62. Or a spy should say to him, "Your brother is planning to kill you. You should give a part of your property to the king."
63. Or a spy should say to him, "Your partner is planning to kill you. You should give a part of your property to the king."

64. Or a spy should say to him, “A person condemned to death has accused you of a crime. You should give a part of your property to the king.”
65. Or a spy should say to him, “A person has lodged a complaint against you. You should give a part of your property to the king.”
66. Or a spy should say to him, “The king is angry with you. You should give a part of your property to the king.”
67. Or a spy should say to him, “The queen is angry with you. You should give a part of your property to the king.”
68. Or a spy should say to him, “The crown prince is angry with you. You should give a part of your property to the king.”
69. Thus he should replenish the treasury.

Chapter 3: The Payment of Servants

1. The sacrificial priest, the teacher, the minister, the chaplain, the commander-in-chief, the crown prince, the king's mother, and the queen shall receive forty-eight thousand paṇas.
2. With this, they shall maintain their dependents.
3. The chamberlain, the superintendent of the harem, the administrator, the administrator-general, and the leader of the army shall receive twenty-four thousand paṇas.
4. The chiefs of the infantry, the cavalry, the chariots, and the elephants, and the superintendents of mines, shall receive eight thousand paṇas.
5. The heads of the corporations, the superintendents of the country, the superintendents of the boundaries, and the superintendents of the forests shall receive four thousand paṇas.
6. The chiefs of the chariots, the physicians of the army, the trainers of horses, and the carpenters shall receive two thousand paṇas.
7. The soothsayers, the readers of omens, the astrologers, the narrators of Purāṇas, the bards, the eulogists, and all heads of departments shall receive one thousand paṇas.

8. Trained soldiers, accountants and clerks shall receive five hundred paṇas.
9. The musicians shall receive two hundred and fifty paṇas.
10. The artisans shall receive one hundred and twenty paṇas.
11. The servants shall receive sixty paṇas.
12. A spy in the guise of an ascetic, a householder, a merchant, or a student shall receive one thousand paṇas.
13. A roving spy shall receive five hundred paṇas.
14. A poisoner and a mendicant woman shall receive two hundred and fifty paṇas.
15. A village-servant shall receive up to five hundred paṇas.
16. The leader of ten villages shall receive one thousand paṇas; of twenty, two thousand; of a hundred, five thousand; of a thousand, one hundred thousand.
17. The chief of the army shall receive ten paṇas for every day of march.
18. An envoy shall receive ten paṇas for every yojana of his journey.
19. Thus he should fix the pay of the servants.

Chapter 4: The Conduct of a Dependent

1. He should follow the king in his conduct of worldly affairs.
2. He should imitate whatever character of his the king likes, provided it is not harmful to the king's interests.
3. And he should show his skill in the arts in which the king is interested.
4. He should not imitate the king in his dress, his speech, and his actions.
5. He should sit on a seat that is lower than the king's, and that is not too close to it.
6. He should not sit with his back to the king.
7. He should not sit with his legs stretched out.
8. He should not laugh loudly in the king's presence.
9. He should not yawn, stretch his limbs, or spit.

10. He should not speak secretly with another person.
11. He should not wear a dress that is too gaudy or too plain.
12. He should not praise himself.
13. He should not blame others.
14. He should not speak ill of the king.
15. He should not reveal the king's secrets.
16. He should not sit in the king's seat, on his couch, or in his chariot.
17. He should not imitate the king's gait.
18. He should not imitate the king's voice.
19. He should not imitate the king's gestures.
20. He should not sit with the king's enemy.
21. He should not sit with the king's favourite who has fallen out of favour.
22. He should not sit with the king's enemy who has been shown favour.
23. He should not contract a marriage with the king's enemy.
24. He should not have any dealing with the king's enemy.
25. He should not give shelter to the king's enemy.
26. He should not help the king's enemy.
27. He should not speak on behalf of the king's enemy.
28. He should not praise the king's enemy.
29. He should not blame the king's favourite.
30. Thus he should conduct himself as a dependent.

Chapter 5: What is Proper at the Time of Calamities

1. If the king shows favour to him, he should think, "I have seen a good dream."
2. If the king shows disfavour, he should think, "I have seen a bad dream."
3. If the king gives him a gift, he should think, "I have seen a good omen."
4. If the king takes away a gift, he should think, "I have seen a bad omen."
5. If the king praises him, he should think, "I have heard a good sound."

6. If the king blames him, he should think, “I have heard a bad sound.”
7. If the king looks at him with a smiling face, he should think, “The sun has risen.”
8. If the king looks at him with an angry face, he should think, “An eclipse has occurred.”
9. Thus he should conduct himself at the time of calamities.

Chapter 6: Consolidation of the Kingdom; Attainment of Sole Rulership

1. Thus the minister should remedy the king’s calamity.
2. If the king is in a great calamity, he should have him protected by his own trusted men.
3. Or he should have him removed to another place.
4. And he should carry on the administration in his name.
5. If the king is dead, he should have his death concealed.
6. And he should have a person of the same appearance as the king placed on the throne.
7. And he should show him to the people from a distance.
8. And he should carry on the administration in his name.
9. And he should have the crown prince installed on the throne.
10. If there is no crown prince, he should have a pregnant queen installed.
11. Or he should have a prince of the royal family installed.
12. Or he should have a daughter of the king installed.
13. Or he should have a pregnant daughter of the king installed.
14. Or he should have a person of the royal family installed.
15. And he should have all the rivals of the new king killed.
16. Thus he should consolidate the kingdom.
17. The minister who has thus consolidated the kingdom should enjoy sole rulership.
18. Or he may place a prince on the throne and be his guardian.
19. Thus he should attain sole rulership.

BOOK 6: THE SOURCE OF THE CIRCLE OF STATES

Chapter 1: The Excellences of the Constituents of the State

1. The king, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army and the ally are the constituents of the state.
2. Of these, the excellences of the king are: born of a high family, endowed with good fortune, intelligence and spirit, given to seeing elders, pious, truthful in speech, not breaking his promise, grateful, liberal, of great energy, not given to procrastination, a controller of his feudatories, of determined mind, with a council that is not mean, and desirous of training.
3. The excellences of the minister have been stated before.
4. The excellences of the country are: situated in the middle and on the border, capable of sustaining itself and others in times of calamity, easy to defend, with insecure borders for the enemy, devoid of muddy, rocky, saline, uneven, thorny, and wild tracts, and of wild animals, charming, with agricultural land, mines, timber and elephant forests, beneficial to cattle, beneficial to men, with protected pastures, rich in cattle, not depending on rain for water, with land and water routes, with valuable, variegated and abundant commodities, capable of bearing an army and taxes, with farmers who are industrious, with a master who is not foolish, and inhabited mostly by the lower castes, and with people who are loyal and of good character.
5. The excellences of the fort have been stated before.
6. The excellences of the treasury are: acquired lawfully by the king's ancestors or by himself, consisting mostly of gold and silver, filled with various kinds of large gems and gold coins, and capable of withstanding a long calamity in which there is no income.
7. The excellences of the army are: inherited from the father and grandfather, permanent, obedient, with its sons and wives contented, not disheartened in a march, irresistible everywhere, capable of bearing

pain, experienced in many battles, skilled in the use of all weapons, having shared the king's prosperity and adversity, not of a double-dealing nature, and consisting mostly of Kṣatriyas.

8. The excellences of an ally are: inherited from the father and grandfather, permanent, under control, of great enthusiasm, with his constituents contented, capable of giving help in times of calamity, and capable of giving help quickly and in a large measure.
9. The excellences of an enemy are: not of a royal family, greedy, with his constituents disaffected, of a low character, addicted to vices, devoid of energy, trusting in fate, acting foolishly, without a place of refuge, without strength, and ever doing injury.
10. For such an enemy is easy to uproot.
11. A king endowed with personal excellences and with the excellences of his material constituents, is the conqueror.
12. He whose territory is contiguous on all sides is the enemy.
13. The king whose territory is separated by one is the ally.
14. A king with these excellences is the best.

Chapter 2: The policy of peace and war

1. The source of the six measures of policy is decline, stability and progress.
2. He should so conduct himself that his own undertakings prosper and those of the enemy are ruined.
3. The result of his work is the prosperity of his undertakings.
4. The attainment of the result of his work is prosperity.
5. The six measures of policy are peace, war, staying quiet, marching, seeking shelter, and dual policy.
6. The king who is inferior in power should make peace; who is superior, should make war; who thinks, "The enemy is not capable of ruining my work, nor am I of ruining his," should stay quiet; who is endowed with strength, should march; who is devoid of strength, should seek shelter;

who needs help for the attainment of his object, should adopt a dual policy.

7. Thus the six measures of policy.
8. The conqueror, his ally, and his ally's ally are the three primary constituents of the circle of states.
9. The enemy, his ally, and his ally's ally are the three constituents that are hostile to him.
10. The king whose territory is contiguous to both the conqueror and his enemy, and who is capable of helping both or of resisting either of them, is the middle king.
11. The king who is situated beyond the territory of all these kings, who is very powerful, and who is capable of helping the conqueror, the enemy, and the middle king, when they are united or disunited, or of resisting any of them individually, is the neutral king.
12. These are the twelve primary kings.
13. The conqueror, his friend, and his friend's friend are the three constituents of his circle of states.
14. The enemy, the middle king, and the neutral king are the three constituents of their respective circles of states.
15. Thus there are four circles of states.
16. And each of these has five constituents: the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, and the army.
17. Thus there are sixty constituents for the four circles of states.
18. Strength is of three kinds: the power of counsel is the strength of intelligence; the power of the treasury and the army is the strength of sovereignty; and the power of enthusiasm is the strength of personal energy.
19. He who is endowed with these three kinds of strength is the superior king; who is endowed with two, is the middling; who is endowed with one, is the inferior.

20. He should make peace with a king who is equal or superior in strength; he should make war with one who is inferior.
21. He who has the power of enthusiasm is the superior king; who has the power of sovereignty is the middling; who has the power of counsel is the inferior.
22. For the power of sovereignty is obtained by means of the power of enthusiasm; and the power of counsel, by means of the power of sovereignty.
23. He should make peace with a king who is superior in the power of counsel; he should make war with one who is superior in the power of enthusiasm.
24. For a king who has the power of counsel, though he be weak, can conquer a king who has only the power of enthusiasm.
25. The place is the earth.
26. On it, the circle of states of the conqueror extends up to the end of the earth, in a continuous line.
27. The territory that is contiguous to his is the enemy's territory.
28. In front of the conqueror's territory is the territory of the enemy, the ally, the enemy's ally, the ally's ally, and the enemy's ally's ally.
29. In his rear is the rear-ward enemy, the rear-ward ally, the rear-ward enemy's ally, and the rear-ward ally's ally.
30. The king whose territory is contiguous to the enemy's and who is capable of helping him is the friend.
31. The king whose territory is separated by one is the enemy.
32. The conqueror should win over his friend and the middle king; and he should create dissension between the enemy and the neutral king.
33. He should cause the enemy to be harassed by the rear-ward enemy, and the rear-ward enemy by the enemy.
34. The middle king he should either win over or create dissension in his circle of states.

35. The neutral king he should either win over or harass.
36. He should make the enemy weak by means of his friend and the middle king.
37. And he should himself become powerful by means of his friend and the middle king.
38. Thus he should arrange the circle of states.
39. The conqueror is the first circle; the enemy, the second; the middle king, the third; and the neutral king, the fourth.
40. He should harass the enemy by means of the middle king; and the middle king, by means of the neutral king.

BOOK 7: THE SIX MEASURES OF POLICY

Chapter 1: The Enumeration of the Six Measures of Policy; The Determination of Decline, Stability and Progress

1. The source of the six measures of policy is the circle of states.
2. The six measures of policy are peace, war, staying quiet, marching, seeking shelter, and dual policy.
3. Peace is an agreement with stipulations.
4. War is an offensive operation.
5. Staying quiet is keeping still.
6. Marching is augmenting one's own power.
7. Seeking shelter is submitting to another.
8. Dual policy is making peace with one and war with another.
9. These are the six measures of policy.
10. When one is in a state of decline as compared to the enemy, he should make peace.
11. When one is in a state of progress, he should make war.
12. When one thinks, "The enemy is not capable of ruining my work, nor am I of ruining his," he should stay quiet.
13. When one is endowed with an excess of power, he should march.
14. When one is devoid of strength, he should seek shelter.

15. When the object can be achieved with the help of another, he should adopt a dual policy.
16. Thus the situations for the measures of policy.
17. A king who is inferior in power should make peace.
18. A king who is superior in power should make war.
19. A king who is equal in power should stay quiet.
20. He should march against a king who is in a state of decline.
21. He should seek shelter with a king who is superior in power.
22. He should adopt a dual policy when his own object is to be achieved.
23. He whose decline, stability and progress are equal to the enemy's should stay quiet.
24. A king who is superior in the power of his constituents should march against one who is inferior.
25. A king who is inferior in the power of his constituents should make peace.
26. Thus the six measures of policy.

Chapter 2: Seeking Shelter

1. A king who is being attacked by a powerful enemy and who finds no other means of saving himself should seek shelter with a king who is stronger than his enemy, and who is righteous, truthful, not a breaker of his word, a receiver and an honourer of those who have sought his protection.
2. Having sought shelter, he should conduct himself like a servant to his master.
3. Or he should seek shelter with a king who is equal in power to his enemy.
4. There, he should try to create a quarrel between the two.
5. Or he should seek shelter with a king who is inferior in power to his enemy.

6. There, he should try to get his enemy attacked by him, with the help of his own army.
7. Or he should seek shelter with a number of kings.
8. There, he should try to get his enemy attacked by them, when they are united.
9. He should not seek shelter with a king who is wicked, a liar, a breaker of his word, a miser, a coward, or a person who is not serious.
10. For such a king, even if he gives protection, will not be able to protect him.
11. Or he will abandon him in the middle of his trouble.
12. Or he will make a treaty with his enemy and hand him over.
13. Or he will himself seize his kingdom.
14. A king who has sought shelter should behave like a fire that has been covered with ashes.
15. And he should wait for an opportunity to regain his kingdom.
16. He should not do anything that is displeasing to his protector.
17. And he should always be ready to serve him.
18. Thus the conduct of one who has sought shelter.

Chapter 3: The Combined Effect of the Policies for one who is Equal, Weaker and Stronger; The Policies of one who is Weaker

1. A king who is equal in power to his enemy should make peace, if he thinks, “The enemy will not be able to harm me, nor I him.”
2. A king who is inferior in power should make peace, with the surrender of his army, his treasury, his territory, or himself.
3. A king who is superior in power should make war.
4. But if he thinks, “The enemy, though inferior, is in a strong position, and it will be difficult to conquer him,” he should make peace.
5. A king who thinks, “The enemy is in a state of decline, and I am in a state of progress,” should make war.

6. A king who thinks, “The enemy is in a state of stability, and so am I,” should stay quiet.
7. A king who thinks, “The enemy is in a state of progress, and I am in a state of decline,” should make peace.
8. Thus the combined effect of the policies.
9. A king who is being attacked by a powerful enemy should make peace, with the surrender of his army.
10. This is the treaty of the surrender of the army.
11. He should surrender his best troops, or he may surrender his entire army, except for himself and his ministers.
12. And he should promise to help the enemy with his army in the future.
13. A king who is being attacked by a powerful enemy should make peace, with the surrender of his treasury.
14. This is the treaty of the surrender of the treasury.
15. He should surrender his best treasures, or he may surrender his entire treasury, except for what is required for his own maintenance.
16. And he should promise to pay a tribute to the enemy in the future.
17. A king who is being attacked by a powerful enemy should make peace, with the surrender of his territory.
18. This is the treaty of the surrender of the territory.
19. He should surrender a part of his territory, or he may surrender his entire territory, except for his capital.
20. And he should promise to be a vassal of the enemy in the future.
21. A king who is being attacked by a powerful enemy should make peace, with the surrender of himself.
22. This is the treaty of the surrender of the person.
23. He should go to the enemy’s camp with his ministers and his family.
24. And he should promise to be a servant of the enemy in the future.
25. Thus the policies of one who is weaker.

Chapter 4: Sitting quiet after making war; Sitting quiet after making peace; Marching after making war; Marching after making peace; Marching together

1. A king who thinks, “I am able to harass the enemy’s country, but he is not able to harass mine,” should make war and then sit quiet.
2. A king who thinks, “I am able to protect my own country, but not to harass the enemy’s,” should make peace and then sit quiet.
3. A king who thinks, “I am able to harass the enemy’s country, and he is able to harass mine,” should make war and then march.
4. A king who thinks, “I am able to protect my own country, and he is also able to protect his,” should make peace and then march.
5. A king who thinks, “My enemy is engaged in a war with another, and his country is unprotected,” should march against him.
6. A king who thinks, “My ally is engaged in a war with another, and his country is unprotected,” should march to his help.
7. A king who thinks, “I am able to achieve my object with the help of an ally,” should march together with him.
8. The agreement for marching together should be, “The gain shall be equal,” or “The gain shall be in proportion to the army.”
9. Or he should say, “You may take whatever you can.”
10. If the gain is in land, he should give a part of it to his ally.
11. If the gain is in money, he should give a part of it to his ally.
12. If the gain is in merchandise, he should give a part of it to his ally.
13. For one who does not give a share to his ally, the fine is twice the share.
14. Thus the policies of marching.

Chapter 5: Considerations about the one to be attacked and the enemy; The causes of waning, greed and disaffection among the constituents; Deliberations on combinations of powers

1. He should march against a king whose constituents are disaffected, who is addicted to vices, who is in a state of decline, whose country is afflicted by a famine or a pestilence, and whose army is weak.
2. He should march against a king who is wicked, who is a liar, who is a breaker of his word, who is a miser, who is a coward, or who is not serious.
3. He should march against a king whose ministers are disloyal, whose people are oppressed, whose forts are in a bad condition, whose treasury is empty, and whose army is weak.
4. He should not march against a king who is righteous, who is truthful, who is not a breaker of his word, who is liberal, who is brave, and who is serious.
5. He should not march against a king whose constituents are loyal, who is not addicted to vices, who is in a state of progress, whose country is prosperous, and whose army is strong.
6. The king, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army and the ally are the constituents of the state.
7. The causes of waning of the constituents are: for the king, addiction to vices, oppression of the people, and neglect of his duties; for the minister, disloyalty, incompetence, and corruption; for the country, famine, pestilence, and oppression by the king's officers; for the fort, its being in a bad condition, its being without provisions, and its being without a garrison; for the treasury, its being empty, its being filled with unlawful wealth, and its being wasted on unworthy persons; for the army, its being weak, its being disloyal, and its being without pay; and for the ally, his being wicked, his being a liar, and his being a breaker of his word.
8. The causes of greed of the constituents are: for the king, his desire for wealth, for women, and for territory; for the minister, his desire for wealth and for power; for the people, their desire for wealth and for

freedom from taxes; for the army, its desire for pay and for booty; and for the ally, his desire for territory and for help.

9. The causes of disaffection of the constituents are: for the king, his being wicked, his being a liar, his being a breaker of his word, his being a miser, his being a coward, and his being not serious; for the minister, his being disloyal, his being incompetent, and his being corrupt; for the people, their being oppressed by the king's officers, their being without justice, and their being without protection; for the army, its being without pay, its being ill-treated, and its being led to destruction; and for the ally, his being abandoned in a time of calamity, his being treated with contempt, and his being deprived of his territory.
10. Thus the causes of waning, greed and disaffection.
11. A combination of powers is for the sake of achieving a common object.
12. He should form a combination of powers with kings who are equal or superior in strength.
13. He should not form a combination of powers with kings who are inferior in strength.
14. For they will be a burden to him.
15. Or they will desert him in the middle of his trouble.
16. Or they will make a treaty with his enemy and hand him over.
17. A combination of powers should be for a definite object.
18. And the share of the gain should be fixed beforehand.
19. In the absence of an agreement, the gain shall be in proportion to the army.
20. Thus the deliberations on combinations of powers.

Chapter 6: Marching after concluding a treaty; Treaties with or without definite terms and with apostates

1. When two kings, having made a treaty, march together, they should make an agreement about the gain.

2. If the gain is equal, the treaty is with equal terms.
3. If it is unequal, the treaty is with unequal terms.
4. If the gain is in land, he whose army has conquered it shall take it.
5. If it has been conquered by both, they shall divide it equally.
6. If the gain is in money or merchandise, they shall divide it in proportion to their army.
7. Or he should take what is suitable for him and give the rest to his ally.
8. Thus the treaty with equal terms.
9. A treaty with unequal terms is for a specific object.
10. "You shall have this much of the gain, and I shall have this much."
11. Or, "You shall have the gain from this region, and I from that."
12. Or, "You shall have the gain for this much time, and I for that much."
13. Thus the treaty with unequal terms.
14. A king who has broken a treaty and has come back should be made to give a surety.
15. Or he should be made to give a hostage.
16. Or he should be made to give a part of his territory.
17. Or he should be made to pay a tribute.
18. Or he should be made to help with his army.
19. Or he should be made to give his son or his brother as a hostage.
20. Thus the treaty with an apostate.

Chapter 7: Dual Policy

1. A king who thinks, "I am able to fight with one enemy, but not with two," should adopt a dual policy.
2. He should make peace with one and war with the other.
3. He should make peace with a king who is righteous and powerful.
4. And he should make war with one who is wicked and weak.
5. Or he should make peace with a king who is near, and war with one who is far.

6. For a king who is near can cause trouble immediately, but not one who is far.
7. Or he should make peace with a king who is powerful, and war with one who is weak.
8. For a powerful king can cause great trouble, but not a weak one.
9. Or he should make peace with a king whose constituents are loyal, and war with one whose constituents are disaffected.
10. For a king whose constituents are loyal is difficult to conquer, but not one whose constituents are disaffected.
11. Thus the dual policy.
12. A king who thinks, "I am able to achieve my object with the help of an ally," should borrow his army.
13. He should make a treaty with him, saying, "The gain shall be equal," or "The gain shall be in proportion to the army."
14. Or he should say, "You may take whatever you can."
15. Thus the policy of borrowing an army.

Chapter 8: The Conduct of the one to be attacked; Special kinds of allies worthy of help

1. A king who is being attacked by a powerful enemy should try to make peace.
2. If he does not succeed, he should surrender himself.
3. Or he should seek shelter with a king who is more powerful.
4. Or he should fight with the help of his allies.
5. Or he should fight alone, having taken a strong position.
6. Thus the conduct of the one to be attacked.
7. An ally who is of the same family, who has been helped before, who is righteous, who is truthful, who is not a breaker of his word, who is liberal, who is brave, and who is serious, is worthy of help.
8. An ally who is wicked, who is a liar, who is a breaker of his word, who is a miser, who is a coward, or who is not serious, is not worthy of help.

9. An ally who is being attacked by a powerful enemy should be helped.
10. An ally who is being attacked by a weak enemy should be helped with a small force.
11. An ally who is engaged in a war with another should be helped.
12. An ally who is in a state of decline should be helped.
13. An ally who is in a state of stability should be helped.
14. An ally who is in a state of progress should be helped.
15. Thus the special kinds of allies worthy of help.

Chapter 9: Treaties concerning the ally, gold, land and enterprise

1. He should make a treaty concerning an ally, gold, land, or an enterprise.
2. Of these, a treaty concerning an ally is the best.
3. For an ally can help in acquiring gold, land, and an enterprise.
4. But gold, land, and an enterprise cannot help in acquiring an ally.
5. Of a treaty concerning gold and a treaty concerning land, a treaty concerning land is better.
6. For land produces gold and other things.
7. Of a treaty concerning a mine and a treaty concerning a trade-route, a treaty concerning a mine is better.
8. For a mine produces gold and other things, and a trade-route brings in merchandise.
9. Of a treaty concerning a forest of timber and a treaty concerning a forest of elephants, a treaty concerning a forest of elephants is better.
10. For elephants are useful in war.
11. Of a treaty concerning a land-route and a treaty concerning a water-route, a treaty concerning a water-route is better.
12. For a water-route brings in more profit and is less expensive.
13. Thus the treaties concerning an ally, gold, land, and an enterprise.

Chapter 10: *This chapter appears to be missing from the provided document.*

Chapter 11: Concerns of the rear-ward enemy

1. The conqueror should have a rear-ward enemy who is weak, or who is engaged in a war with another, or who is in a state of decline.
2. He should have him harassed by his own ally.
3. Or he should have him harassed by a forest-chief.
4. Or he should have him harassed by a corporation of warriors.
5. Or he should have him harassed by a neighbouring king.
6. Or he should have him harassed by a prince of his own family.
7. Or he should have him harassed by a disaffected minister.
8. Or he should have him harassed by a disaffected people.
9. Or he should win him over with gold and land.
10. Or he should make a treaty with him.
11. Or he should make a matrimonial alliance with him.
12. Thus the concerns of the rear-ward enemy.

Chapter 12: *This chapter appears to be missing from the provided document.*

Chapter 13: Making good the loss of power

1. A king who has lost his power should try to make it good.
2. He should seek help from his allies.
3. Or he should seek shelter with a powerful king.
4. Or he should create dissension in the enemy's camp.
5. Or he should have the enemy killed by a secret agent.
6. Or he should have him killed with poison.
7. Or he should have him killed with a weapon.
8. Or he should have him killed with a magical spell.
9. Or he should have him killed by a woman who is dear to him.
10. Or he should have him killed by his own son or brother.
11. Or he should have him killed by a disaffected minister.

12. Or he should have him killed by a disaffected people.
13. Thus he should make good the loss of power.

Chapter 14: Considerations about attacking the strong; The conduct of a king who has submitted through force

1. A king who is weak should not attack one who is strong.
2. But if he has to, he should do so at a time when the strong king is in a calamity.
3. Or he should do so with the help of his allies.
4. Or he should do so by creating dissension in the enemy's camp.
5. Or he should do so by a treacherous fight.
6. A king who has submitted through force should behave like a servant to his master.
7. And he should wait for an opportunity to regain his independence.
8. He should not do anything that is displeasing to his master.
9. And he should always be ready to serve him.
10. He should give him his son or his brother as a hostage.
11. And he should pay him a tribute.
12. And he should help him with his army.
13. Thus the conduct of a king who has submitted through force.

Chapter 15: *This chapter appears to be missing from the provided document.*

Chapter 16: The conduct of one who forces another to submit

1. A king who has forced another to submit should treat him with honour.
2. He should not take away his kingdom.
3. He should not take away his treasury.
4. He should not take away his army.
5. He should not take away his ally.
6. He should not take away his son or his brother as a hostage.

7. But he should make him pay a tribute.
8. And he should make him help with his army.
9. Thus the conduct of one who forces another to submit.

Chapter 17: The work of a peace-treaty; Release from a treaty

1. A peace-treaty should be with definite terms.
2. The terms should be about the ally, gold, land, and an enterprise.
3. The treaty should be with a surety or a hostage.
4. A treaty that is broken should be renewed.
5. A treaty may be broken for a just cause.
6. The causes for breaking a treaty are: the non-payment of the tribute, the non-surrender of the hostage, the non-help with the army, the non-surrender of the territory, and the non-fulfillment of the terms of the treaty.
7. Thus the work of a peace-treaty.
8. A king may be released from a treaty by paying a ransom.
9. Or he may be released by rendering a great service.
10. Or he may be released by creating a quarrel between his enemy and his protector.
11. Or he may be released by the death of his enemy.
12. Or he may be released by the death of his protector.
13. Thus the release from a treaty.

Chapter 18: The conduct of the middle king; The conduct of the neutral king; The conduct of the circle of states

1. The middle king should try to create a quarrel between the conqueror and his enemy.
2. And he should help the one who is weaker.
3. Or he should remain neutral.
4. The neutral king should try to maintain the balance of power between the conqueror and his enemy.

5. And he should help the one who is weaker.
6. Or he should remain neutral.
7. The conqueror should try to win over the middle king and the neutral king.
8. And he should try to create a quarrel between them and his enemy.
9. The enemy should try to win over the middle king and the neutral king.
10. And he should try to create a quarrel between them and the conqueror.
11. Thus the conduct of the middle king and the neutral king.
12. The conqueror, his ally, and his ally's ally form one circle.
13. The enemy, his ally, and his ally's ally form another circle.
14. The middle king, his ally, and his ally's ally form a third circle.
15. The neutral king, his ally, and his ally's ally form a fourth circle.
16. Thus the circle of states.

BOOK 8: CONCERNING CALAMITIES

Chapter 1: The Group of Calamities of the Constituents

1. "Which is the more serious calamity of the constituents, from the king down to the ally?"
2. "The calamity of the king and the minister," say the teachers. "For the king and the minister are the root of the other constituents."
3. "The calamity of the minister is more serious than that of the king," says Bharadvāja. "For the king depends on the minister for counsel, for the execution of his work, for the protection of his person and his kingdom, and for remedies against calamities."
4. "No," says Viśālākṣa. "For the king is the central pillar. The ministers and the other constituents are like the other pillars. If the central pillar is weak, the others cannot stand."
5. "No," says Kautilya. "For the king appoints the ministers, the priests, and other servants. He supervises their work. He is the source of their

prosperity. If he is endowed with excellences, he makes the other constituents prosper."

6. "The calamity of the country is more serious than that of the minister," say the teachers. "For from the country arise the fort, the treasury, the army, and other things."
7. "No," says Kautilya. "For the minister is the root of the works concerning the country. The prosperity of the country depends on his policy."
8. "The calamity of the fort is more serious than that of the country," say the teachers. "For the fort is the place of refuge for the king and the people in times of calamity."
9. "No," says Kautilya. "For the country is the source of the fort and other things. The prosperity of the fort depends on the prosperity of the country."
10. "The calamity of the treasury is more serious than that of the fort," say the teachers. "For the maintenance of the fort and the army depends on the treasury."
11. "No," says Kautilya. "For the fort is the place for the protection of the treasury. The security of the treasury depends on the security of the fort."
12. "The calamity of the army is more serious than that of the treasury," say the teachers. "For the protection of the treasury and the country depends on the army."
13. "No," says Kautilya. "For the army depends on the treasury. In the absence of the treasury, the army goes over to the enemy or deserts."
14. "The calamity of the ally is more serious than that of the army," say the teachers. "For the ally helps with his army, his treasury, and his counsel."
15. "No," says Kautilya. "For the army protects the ally. In the absence of the army, the ally goes over to the enemy or is destroyed."

16. Thus a calamity affecting a preceding constituent is more serious than one affecting a subsequent one.

Chapter 2: Deliberations on the Calamities of the King and the Kingdom

1. "Which is the more serious calamity, the king's addiction to vices or a calamity of the kingdom?"
2. "The king's addiction to vices," say the teachers. "For a king who is addicted to vices does not look after the affairs of the kingdom. And a kingdom that is not looked after perishes."
3. "No," says Kautilya. "For a king who is virtuous, though his kingdom is afflicted by a calamity, can remedy it. But a king who is addicted to vices, though his kingdom is prosperous, will ruin it."
4. A calamity of the kingdom can be remedied by the king with the help of his ministers and his people.
5. But a king's addiction to vices cannot be remedied by anyone.
6. Therefore, the king's addiction to vices is the more serious calamity.

Chapter 3: The Group of Calamities of Men

1. The calamities of men are addiction to vices.
2. They are of two kinds: those arising from anger and those arising from desire.
3. Those arising from anger are three: abuse of speech, abuse of money, and abuse of punishment.
4. Those arising from desire are four: hunting, dicing, women, and drink.
5. "Which is the more serious, anger or desire?"
6. "Anger," say the teachers. "For an angry person does not distinguish between what should be done and what should not be done. He kills even those who are worthy of respect."
7. "No," says Kautilya. "For a person who is addicted to desire neglects his duties. He falls a prey to his enemies. He is despised by his own people. He becomes poor. He falls into bad company. He becomes a

thief. He becomes a liar. He becomes a cheat. He becomes an outcaste. He perishes."

8. "Abuse of speech is the most serious of the vices arising from anger," say the teachers. "For it offends everyone."
9. "No," says Kautilya. "For abuse of punishment is the most serious. For it oppresses the people."
10. "Dicing is the most serious of the vices arising from desire," say the teachers. "For it involves the loss of wealth, and leads to quarrels."
11. "No," says Kautilya. "For addiction to women is the most serious. For it leads to the loss of righteousness, wealth, and life."
12. "Addiction to drink is the most serious of all vices," say the teachers. "For a drunken person is like a dead person. He does not know what he is doing."
13. "No," says Kautilya. "For a person who is addicted to drink can be cured. But a person who is addicted to women cannot be cured."
14. Thus the group of calamities of men.

Chapter 4: The Group of Troubles such as Oppression, Obstruction, and Troubles relating to the Treasury

1. Oppression is of eight kinds: by the king's officers, by thieves, by enemies, by the king's favourites, by the king himself, by a corporation, by a forest-chief, and by a neighbouring king.
2. Obstruction is of eight kinds: of a water-course, of a road, of a market, of a mine, of a forest, of a pasture-ground, of a holy place, and of a temple.
3. Troubles relating to the treasury are of eight kinds: its being empty, its being filled with unlawful wealth, its being wasted on unworthy persons, its being given away to foreigners, its being stolen, its being destroyed by fire, its being destroyed by a flood, and its being destroyed by rats.
4. He should protect the kingdom from these troubles.

5. He should remove the oppression by punishing the oppressors.
6. He should remove the obstruction by punishing the obstructors.
7. He should replenish the treasury by lawful means.
8. He should protect the treasury from being stolen, and from being destroyed by fire, flood, and rats.
9. Thus the group of troubles.

Chapter 5: The Group of Troubles relating to the Army, and the Group of Troubles relating to an Ally

1. The troubles relating to the army are: its being unpaid, its being ill-treated, its being led to destruction, its being disloyal, its being weak, its being without a commander, its being without a king, its being without a priest, its being without a physician, its being without a cook, its being without a groom, its being without a person to provide grass, its being without a person to tie up the horses, its being without a person to apply remedies for poison, and its being without a person to prepare the stable.
2. He should remove these troubles.
3. He should pay the army regularly.
4. He should treat the army with honour.
5. He should not lead the army to destruction.
6. He should win over the disloyal army with conciliation, gifts, and sowing dissensions.
7. He should make the weak army strong by training and by providing it with good weapons.
8. He should appoint a commander for the army.
9. He should himself lead the army.
10. He should have a priest for the army.
11. He should have a physician for the army.
12. He should have a cook for the army.
13. He should have a groom for the army.

14. He should have a person to provide grass for the army.
15. He should have a person to tie up the horses for the army.
16. He should have a person to apply remedies for poison for the army.
17. He should have a person to prepare the stable for the army.
18. Thus the group of troubles relating to the army.
19. The troubles relating to an ally are: his being wicked, his being a liar, his being a breaker of his word, his being a miser, his being a coward, his being not serious, his being in a calamity, his being attacked by a powerful enemy, his being engaged in a war with another, his being in a state of decline, his being in a state of stability, his being in a state of progress, his being superior in strength, his being equal in strength, his being inferior in strength, his being near, and his being far.
20. He should remove these troubles.
21. He should not make an alliance with a wicked ally.
22. He should not make an alliance with a liar.
23. He should not make an alliance with a breaker of his word.
24. He should not make an alliance with a miser.
25. He should not make an alliance with a coward.
26. He should not make an alliance with a person who is not serious.
27. He should help an ally who is in a calamity.
28. He should help an ally who is attacked by a powerful enemy.
29. He should help an ally who is engaged in a war with another.
30. He should help an ally who is in a state of decline.
31. He should help an ally who is in a state of stability.
32. He should help an ally who is in a state of progress.
33. He should make an alliance with an ally who is superior in strength.
34. He should make an alliance with an ally who is equal in strength.
35. He should make an alliance with an ally who is inferior in strength.

36. He should make an alliance with an ally who is near.
37. He should make an alliance with an ally who is far.
38. Thus the group of troubles relating to an ally.

BOOK 9: THE ACTIVITY OF THE KING ABOUT TO MARCH

Chapter 1: The knowledge of power, place, time, strength and weakness; The time for marching

1. The conqueror, endowed with the excellences of himself and his material constituents, which have been described before, should, having known the strength and weakness of the enemy, march at a time when he is in a calamity.
2. Strength is of three kinds: the power of enthusiasm is strength; the power of sovereignty is strength; and the power of counsel is strength.
3. The place is the earth. On it, he should march on a road that is suitable for his army.
4. The time is the year, the month, the fortnight, the day, and the season. In it, he should march at a time that is favourable to him.
5. Thus the knowledge of power, place, and time.
6. He should march in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa against a country that has a winter crop.
7. In the month of Caitra, against a country that has a summer crop.
8. In the month of Jyeṣṭha, against a country that has an autumn crop.
9. Or he may march at any time when his own crops are ripe and those of the enemy are not.
10. Or he may march at any time when the enemy is in a calamity.
11. He should march in the rainy season against a country that is full of mud and water, with an army of elephants.
12. He should march in the winter against a country that is full of snow, with an army of horses.
13. He should march in the summer against a country that is dry and without water, with an army of camels and asses.

14. Thus the time for marching.

Chapter 2: The times for raising an army; The qualities of the fighting forces; The work of the opposing army

1. He should raise an army at a time when the enemy is in a calamity.
2. Or he should raise it at a time when he himself is in a state of progress.
3. The hereditary army is the best, for it is loyal and experienced.
4. A hired army is better than the army of a corporation.
5. An army of a corporation is better than the army of an ally.
6. An army of an ally is better than the army of a forest-chief.
7. An army of a forest-chief is better than the army of an enemy who has been captured.
8. The infantry is the best for fighting in all kinds of ground.
9. The cavalry is the best for fighting on a level ground.
10. The chariots are the best for fighting on a ground that is free from mud and stones.
11. The elephants are the best for breaking the enemy's battle-array.
12. The army that is well-trained, well-equipped, and loyal is the best.
13. He should have his army trained in the use of all kinds of weapons.
14. And he should have it equipped with all kinds of weapons and armour.
15. And he should win over the army with gifts and honours.
16. The work of the opposing army is to break the enemy's battle-array, to pursue the enemy, to cut off his supplies, and to protect the flanks of one's own army.
17. He should try to find out the weak points of the enemy's army.
18. And he should attack the enemy at his weak points.
19. Thus the work of the opposing army.

Chapter 3: Deliberations on the trouble in the rear; Remedies against internal and external rebellions

1. He should not march without making his rear secure.
2. For a king whose rear is not secure is liable to be attacked by the rear-ward enemy.
3. He should have his rear guarded by a trusted minister or by his own son.
4. Or he should make a treaty with the rear-ward enemy.
5. Or he should create a quarrel between the rear-ward enemy and his own enemy.
6. Or he should have the rear-ward enemy harassed by his own ally.
7. Thus the deliberations on the trouble in the rear.
8. An internal rebellion is more serious than an external one.
9. For an internal rebellion is like a snake in the house.
10. An external rebellion is like a snake outside the house.
11. He should suppress an internal rebellion with conciliation, gifts, sowing dissensions, and punishment.
12. He should suppress an external rebellion with the help of his allies.
13. Thus the remedies against internal and external rebellions.

Chapter 4: Deliberation on loss, expenditure and profit

1. He should not march without considering the loss, the expenditure, and the profit.
2. The loss is of men and material.
3. The expenditure is on the army, on provisions, and on other things.
4. The profit is of an ally, of land, and of gold.
5. Of these, the profit of an ally is the best.
6. For an ally can help in acquiring land and gold.
7. Of land and gold, land is better.
8. For land produces gold and other things.

9. Of a mine and a trade-route, a mine is better.
10. For a mine produces gold and other things, and a trade-route brings in merchandise.
11. Of a forest of timber and a forest of elephants, a forest of elephants is better.
12. For elephants are useful in war.
13. Of a land-route and a water-route, a water-route is better.
14. For a water-route brings in more profit and is less expensive.
15. Thus the deliberation on loss, expenditure and profit.

Chapter 5: External and Internal Dangers

1. Dangers are of two kinds: external and internal.
2. An external danger is from an enemy or a forest-chief.
3. An internal danger is from a minister, a priest, a commander-in-chief, or the crown prince.
4. Of these, an internal danger is more serious.
5. For an internal danger is like a snake in the house.
6. An external danger is like a snake outside the house.
7. An internal danger arising from a minister is more serious than one arising from a priest.
8. For a minister is concerned with all the affairs of the kingdom.
9. An internal danger arising from a commander-in-chief is more serious than one arising from a minister.
10. For the army is under his control.
11. An internal danger arising from the crown prince is more serious than one arising from a commander-in-chief.
12. For he is the heir to the throne.
13. Thus the external and internal dangers.

Chapter 6: Dangers connected with Traitors and Enemies

1. "Which is the more serious danger, one from a traitor or one from an enemy?"
2. "A danger from a traitor," say the teachers. "For a traitor is like a snake in the house."
3. "No," says Kautilya. "For a danger from an enemy is more serious. For an enemy attacks openly, but a traitor secretly."
4. "Which is the more serious danger, one from a traitor who is a minister or one from an enemy who is powerful?"
5. "A danger from a traitor who is a minister," say the teachers. "For he can ruin the kingdom from within."
6. "No," says Kautilya. "For a danger from an enemy who is powerful is more serious. For he can conquer the kingdom from without."
7. "Which is the more serious danger, one from a traitor who is supported by an enemy or one from an enemy who is supported by a traitor?"
8. "A danger from a traitor who is supported by an enemy," say the teachers. "For he has both internal and external support."
9. "No," says Kautilya. "For a danger from an enemy who is supported by a traitor is more serious. For he has a base in the enemy's country."
10. Thus the dangers connected with traitors and enemies.

Chapter 7: Dangers connected with gain, loss and doubt, and the successes resulting from different expedients for them

1. When there is a certainty of gain, he should march.
2. When there is a certainty of loss, he should not march.
3. When there is a doubt, he should not march, unless he has to.
4. When there is a certainty of gain from one expedition and a doubt from another, he should undertake the one with the certainty of gain.
5. When there is a certainty of gain from one and a certainty of loss from another, he should undertake the one with the certainty of gain.
6. When there is a doubt from one and a certainty of loss from another, he should not undertake either.

7. When there is an equal gain from two expeditions, he should undertake the one that is nearer, or the one that is easier, or the one that is more righteous.
8. When there is an equal loss from two expeditions, he should undertake the one that is farther, or the one that is more difficult, or the one that is less righteous.
9. When there is a doubt of an equal gain and an equal loss from two expeditions, he should not undertake either.
10. If he has to undertake one, he should undertake the one in which the loss is less.
11. Thus the dangers connected with gain, loss and doubt.
12. The success resulting from conciliation is a treaty of peace.
13. The success resulting from gifts is the acquisition of an ally, of land, and of gold.
14. The success resulting from sowing dissensions is the breaking of the enemy's alliance.
15. The success resulting from punishment is the conquest of the enemy's kingdom.
16. The success resulting from a combination of expedients is greater than that resulting from a single expedient.
17. Thus the successes resulting from different expedients.

BOOK 10: CONCERNING WAR

Chapter 1: The Pitching of the Camp

1. The king should have the camp pitched by the commander-in-chief and the leader, on a ground that has been approved by the experts in the science of architecture.
2. It should be circular, or square, or rectangular, according to the lay of the land.
3. It should have four gates, six roads, and nine divisions.
4. It should be protected by a trench, a rampart, and a wall.

5. It should have a watch-tower, a gate-house, and a secret path.
6. The king's quarters should be in the ninth division, in the northern part of the camp.
7. It should be one hundred dhanus long and fifty dhanus wide.
8. It should face east or north.
9. The harem should be to the west of it.
10. The treasury and the accounts-office should be to the east.
11. The storehouse and the kitchen should be to the south.
12. The armoury and the workshops should be to the north.
13. The councillors and the priests should be in the front.
14. The physicians and the surgeons should be on the sides.
15. The horses should be on one side, and the elephants on the other.
16. The chariots should be in the front, and the infantry in the rear.
17. The commander-in-chief should be in the front.
18. The leader should be in the rear.
19. Thus the pitching of the camp.

Chapter 2: The March of the Camp; The protection of the army in times of distress and attack

1. The king should march with his army in a proper order.
2. The commander-in-chief should go in the front, with the bravest troops.
3. The king should be in the centre, with the women, the treasury, and the ministers.
4. The leader should be in the rear, with the baggage and the weak troops.
5. The cavalry should be on the flanks.
6. The elephants should be in the front and in the rear.
7. The chariots should be on the sides.
8. The infantry should be all around.
9. Thus the march of the camp.
10. He should protect the army from the enemy's attack.

11. He should have the front, the rear, and the flanks of the army guarded by trusted men.
12. He should have the camp guarded by sentinels.
13. He should have the roads cleared of thieves and wild animals.
14. He should have the rivers crossed by means of bridges or boats.
15. He should have the mountains crossed by means of ropes or ladders.
16. He should have the forests cleared of trees and shrubs.
17. In a time of distress, he should encourage the army with gifts and honours.
18. He should have the sick and the wounded treated by physicians.
19. He should have the dead cremated.
20. Thus the protection of the army.

Chapter 3: Types of Treacherous Fighting; Encouragement to one's own army; The engagement of one's own and the enemy's army

1. A treacherous fight is one in which the enemy is attacked when he is not expecting it.
2. He should attack the enemy when he is marching, or when he is tired, or when he is eating, or when he is sleeping.
3. He should attack the enemy when he is crossing a river, a mountain, or a forest.
4. He should attack the enemy when he is in a difficult position.
5. He should attack the enemy when his army is in disorder.
6. He should attack the enemy when he is afflicted by a famine or a pestilence.
7. He should attack the enemy when his constituents are disaffected.
8. Thus the types of treacherous fighting.
9. He should encourage his own army by telling them of the greatness of their caste and family, of their brave deeds, and of the rewards they will get.

10. He should say to them, “I am your master. I shall share your joys and sorrows. You are my sons. I shall protect you as a father protects his sons.”
11. He should have the bards and the eulogists praise the brave deeds of the heroes of the past.
12. He should have the astrologers and the soothsayers predict victory for his army.
13. Thus the encouragement to one’s own army.
14. He should engage his own army against the enemy’s army, having known the strength and weakness of both.
15. He should engage his strong troops against the enemy’s weak troops.
16. He should engage his weak troops against the enemy’s strong troops as a diversion.
17. He should engage his cavalry against the enemy’s cavalry.
18. He should engage his elephants against the enemy’s elephants.
19. He should engage his chariots against the enemy’s chariots.
20. He should engage his infantry against the enemy’s infantry.
21. Thus the engagement of one’s own and the enemy’s army.

Chapter 4: Battle-grounds; The work of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants

1. A battle-ground that is even, firm, and extensive is good for all kinds of troops.
2. A battle-ground that is uneven, muddy, and full of stones is good for the infantry.
3. A battle-ground that is even and firm is good for the cavalry.
4. A battle-ground that is even and firm is good for the chariots.
5. A battle-ground that is full of trees and shrubs is good for the elephants.
6. Thus the battle-grounds.

7. The work of the infantry is to fight in all kinds of ground, to guard the camp, to dig trenches, to make roads, to carry loads, and to do all kinds of work.
8. The work of the cavalry is to break the enemy's battle-array, to pursue the enemy, to cut off his supplies, and to protect the flanks of one's own army.
9. The work of the chariots is to break the enemy's battle-array, to protect the flanks of one's own army, and to create confusion in the enemy's army.
10. The work of the elephants is to break the enemy's battle-array, to break the enemy's fort, to break the enemy's gate, to kill the enemy's elephants, to kill the enemy's horses, to kill the enemy's chariots, and to kill the enemy's infantry.
11. Thus the work of the infantry, the cavalry, the chariots and the elephants.

Chapter 5: The array of the army in wings, flanks and front; The distinction between strong and weak troops; The battles of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants

1. He should have the army arrayed in wings, flanks and front.
2. The wings should be on the sides of the army.
3. The flanks should be between the wings and the front.
4. The front should be in the centre of the army.
5. He should have the strong troops in the front.
6. He should have the weak troops in the rear.
7. He should have the elephants in the front.
8. He should have the horses on the flanks.
9. He should have the chariots in the wings.
10. He should have the infantry all around.
11. Thus the array of the army.
12. The hereditary army is the strong army.

13. The hired army is the weak army.
14. The army of a corporation is the strong army.
15. The army of an ally is the weak army.
16. The army of a forest-chief is the strong army.
17. The army of an enemy who has been captured is the weak army.
18. Thus the distinction between strong and weak troops.
19. The battle of the infantry is fought with swords, shields, bows and arrows.
20. The battle of the cavalry is fought with lances, swords and javelins.
21. The battle of the chariots is fought with bows and arrows, maces and clubs.
22. The battle of the elephants is fought with goads, hooks and spears.
23. Thus the battles of the infantry, the cavalry, the chariots and the elephants.

Chapter 6: The arraying of the army in the staff, snake, circle and loose formations; The stationing of counter-arrays for them

1. The staff-formation is one in which the army is arrayed in a straight line.
2. The snake-formation is one in which the army is arrayed in a zigzag line.
3. The circle-formation is one in which the army is arrayed in a circle.
4. The loose-formation is one in which the army is arrayed without any particular order.
5. He should use the staff-formation when the enemy's army is small.
6. He should use the snake-formation when the enemy's army is in a long line.
7. He should use the circle-formation when the enemy's army is all around.

8. He should use the loose-formation when he wants to create confusion in the enemy's army.
9. Thus the arraying of the army.
10. For the staff-formation of the enemy, he should station a circle-formation.
11. For the snake-formation of the enemy, he should station a staff-formation.
12. For the circle-formation of the enemy, he should station a staff-formation.
13. For the loose-formation of the enemy, he should station a staff-formation.
14. Thus the stationing of counter-arrays.

BOOK 11: THE CONDUCT OF CORPORATIONS

Chapter 1: The means of causing dissension, and secret punishments

1. The corporations of warriors of Kamboja and Surāṣṭra, and other countries, live by agriculture, trade, and wielding weapons.
2. He should win over those that are friendly with conciliation and gifts; those that are hostile, by sowing dissensions and by punishment.
3. For corporations are invincible, and hence they should be won over.
4. He should create dissensions among them by means of spies.
5. A spy, having gained the confidence of a chief of a corporation, should say to him, "The other chief is planning to kill you."
6. And he should have him killed by the other.
7. Or he should create a quarrel between them over a woman or property.
8. Or he should have a woman who is a secret agent say to a chief, "The other chief has sent me to kill you."
9. And he should have him killed by her.
10. Or he should have a secret agent, in the guise of an ascetic, say to a chief, "The other chief has performed a magical spell to kill you."
11. And he should have him killed by him.

12. Or he should have a secret agent, in the guise of a soothsayer, say to a chief, "The other chief is going to be the king. You should kill him."
13. And he should have him killed by him.
14. Or he should have a secret agent, in the guise of a cook, poison the food of a chief.
15. Or he should have a secret agent, in the guise of a barber, poison the razor of a chief.
16. Or he should have a secret agent, in the guise of a perfumer, poison the perfume of a chief.
17. Or he should have a secret agent, in the guise of a garland-maker, poison the garland of a chief.
18. Or he should have a secret agent, in the guise of a player on a musical instrument, poison the musical instrument of a chief.
19. Or he should have a secret agent, in the guise of a dancer, poison the dancing-dress of a chief.
20. Or he should have a secret agent, in the guise of a singer, poison the drink of a chief.
21. Or he should have a secret agent, in the guise of a buffoon, poison the food of a chief.
22. Thus the means of causing dissension.
23. He should have the chiefs of the corporations killed by means of secret agents.
24. Or he should have them killed with a weapon, fire, or poison.
25. Thus the secret punishments.

BOOK 12: CONCERNING THE WEAKER KING

Chapter 1: The Work of an Envoy

1. A weaker king, when attacked by a powerful one, should try to make peace.
2. If he does not succeed, he should send an envoy to him.

3. The envoy should say to him, "My master is your servant. He will give you his treasury, his army, his territory, and himself. Do not destroy him."
4. If he agrees, he should make a treaty with him.
5. If he does not agree, the envoy should say to him, "My master has many allies. They will come to his help. Do not fight with him."
6. If he still does not agree, the envoy should say to him, "My master has a strong fort. You will not be able to conquer it. Do not fight with him."
7. If he still does not agree, the envoy should say to him, "My master has a brave army. It will fight to the last. Do not fight with him."
8. If he still does not agree, the envoy should try to create a quarrel between him and his allies.
9. Or he should try to create a quarrel between him and his ministers.
10. Or he should try to create a quarrel between him and his people.
11. Or he should try to have him killed by a secret agent.
12. Thus the work of an envoy.

Chapter 2: Battle of Intrigue; The Slaying of the Commander-in-Chief

1. A weaker king should try to win a battle by intrigue.
2. He should have the enemy's camp set on fire by a secret agent.
3. Or he should have the enemy's water-supply poisoned.
4. Or he should have the enemy's fodder poisoned.
5. Or he should have the enemy's road blocked.
6. Or he should have the enemy's army attacked from the rear.
7. Or he should have the enemy's commander-in-chief killed by a secret agent.
8. A secret agent, in the guise of a hunter, should say to the commander-in-chief, "There is a herd of deer in this forest. Come, let us hunt them."
9. And he should lead him to a lonely place and kill him.

10. Or a secret agent, in the guise of an ascetic, should say to him, "I know a spell for making gold. Come with me to a lonely place, and I shall teach it to you."
11. And he should lead him to a lonely place and kill him.
12. Or a secret agent, in the guise of a merchant, should say to him, "I have a beautiful maiden. I shall give her to you, if you come to my house at night."
13. And when he comes, he should have him killed.
14. Thus the slaying of the commander-in-chief.

Chapter 3: The Instigation of the Circle of States

1. A weaker king should try to instigate the circle of states against his powerful enemy.
2. He should say to the middle king, "This powerful king is a danger to all of us. Let us unite and destroy him."
3. He should say to the neutral king, "This powerful king is a danger to all of us. Let us unite and destroy him."
4. He should say to the enemy's ally, "This powerful king will destroy you after he has destroyed me. Let us unite and destroy him."
5. He should say to the enemy's rear-ward enemy, "This is a good opportunity for you to attack the enemy from the rear. I shall help you."
6. Thus he should try to instigate the circle of states against his powerful enemy.

Chapter 4: The use of weapons, fire and poisons; The destruction of stores, supplies and reinforcements

1. He should have the enemy's camp attacked with weapons, fire and poisons.
2. A secret agent, in the guise of a cook, should poison the enemy's food.
3. A secret agent, in the guise of a water-carrier, should poison the enemy's water.

4. A secret agent, in the guise of a groom, should poison the enemy's fodder.
5. A secret agent, in the guise of a physician, should poison the enemy's medicine.
6. A secret agent, in the guise of a perfumer, should poison the enemy's perfume.
7. A secret agent, in the guise of a garland-maker, should poison the enemy's garland.
8. A secret agent should set fire to the enemy's camp.
9. He should set fire to the enemy's storehouse of grain.
10. He should set fire to the enemy's armoury.
11. He should set fire to the enemy's stables of elephants and horses.
12. He should set fire to the enemy's storehouse of fodder.
13. Thus the use of weapons, fire and poisons.
14. He should have the enemy's stores destroyed.
15. He should have his supplies cut off.
16. He should have his reinforcements destroyed.
17. Thus the destruction of stores, supplies and reinforcements.

Chapter 5: Capturing the enemy by secret contrivances; Capturing the enemy by means of the army; Complete victory

1. He should try to capture the enemy by a secret contrivance.
2. A secret agent, in the guise of a hunter, should say to the enemy, "There is a herd of deer in this forest. Come, let us hunt them."
3. And he should lead him to a lonely place and capture him.
4. Or a secret agent, in the guise of an ascetic, should say to him, "I know a place where there is a hidden treasure. Come with me, and I shall show it to you."
5. And he should lead him to a lonely place and capture him.

6. Or a secret agent, in the guise of a merchant, should say to him, "I have a beautiful maiden. I shall give her to you, if you come to my house at night."
7. And when he comes, he should have him captured.
8. Thus capturing the enemy by a secret contrivance.
9. He should try to capture the enemy by means of the army.
10. He should attack the enemy when he is not expecting it.
11. He should attack the enemy when he is in a difficult position.
12. He should attack the enemy when his army is in disorder.
13. Thus capturing the enemy by means of the army.
14. He should try to achieve a complete victory.
15. A victory in which the enemy's kingdom, treasury, army, and ally are destroyed is a complete victory.
16. A victory in which only the enemy is killed is a middling victory.
17. A victory in which only a part of the enemy's territory is conquered is a low victory.
18. He should try to achieve a complete victory.

BOOK 13: THE MEANS OF TAKING A FORT

Chapter 1: Sowing the seeds of dissension

1. The conqueror, having reached the enemy's village, should try to win over the people.
2. He should say to them, "I shall protect you as I protect my own people. I shall not harm you. I shall give you remission of taxes. I shall give you security."
3. He should win over the leaders of the people with gifts and honours.
4. And he should try to create a quarrel between the people and their king.
5. A spy, in the guise of a soothsayer, should say to the people, "Your king is wicked. He will be destroyed soon. A righteous king will come and protect you."

6. A spy, in the guise of an ascetic, should say to them, "Your king is an atheist. He does not believe in the gods. He will be destroyed soon."
7. A spy, in the guise of a merchant, should say to them, "Your king is a miser. He does not give anything to anyone. He will be destroyed soon."
8. A spy, in the guise of a performer, should sing songs about the wickedness of the king.
9. Thus he should try to create dissension between the people and their king.
10. And he should try to win over the disaffected party in the enemy's country.
11. He should promise them a share of the kingdom.
12. Or he should promise them a part of the booty.
13. Or he should promise them the hand of his daughter.
14. Thus sowing the seeds of dissension.

Chapter 2: Capturing the fort by secret contrivances

1. He should try to capture the fort by a secret contrivance.
2. A spy, in the guise of an ascetic, should gain the confidence of the enemy king.
3. And he should say to him, "I know a spell for making gold. If you perform a sacrifice at night in a lonely place, you will get a lot of gold."
4. And when the king comes to the lonely place, he should have him killed.
5. Or a spy, in the guise of a merchant, should say to him, "I have a beautiful maiden. I shall give her to you, if you come to my house at night."
6. And when he comes, he should have him killed.
7. Or a spy, in the guise of a performer, should gain the confidence of the enemy king.

8. And he should say to him, "I shall show you a wonderful performance at night in a secret place."
9. And when the king comes, he should have him killed.
10. Or a spy should create a quarrel between the enemy king and his own son or brother.
11. And he should have him killed by his own son or brother.
12. Or a spy should have the enemy king killed by a woman who is dear to him.
13. Or he should have him killed with poison.
14. Or he should have him killed with a weapon.
15. Or he should have him killed with a magical spell.
16. Thus capturing the fort by a secret contrivance.

Chapter 3: The employment of spies

1. He should have spies stationed in the enemy's fort.
2. They should find out the weak points of the fort.
3. And they should find out the number of the troops, the amount of provisions, and the loyalty of the people.
4. And they should create dissensions among the people.
5. And they should set fire to the fort.
6. And they should poison the water-supply.
7. And they should open the gates of the fort.
8. And they should give a signal to their own army.
9. A spy, in the guise of a hunter, should say to the enemy king, "There is a herd of deer in this forest. Come, let us hunt them."
10. And he should lead him to a lonely place and have him captured.
11. A spy, in the guise of an ascetic, should say to him, "I know a place where there is a hidden treasure. Come with me, and I shall show it to you."
12. And he should lead him to a lonely place and have him captured.

13. A spy, in the guise of a merchant, should say to him, "I have a beautiful maiden. I shall give her to you, if you come to my house at night."
14. And when he comes, he should have him captured.
15. Thus the employment of spies.

Chapter 4: The work of a siege; Storming the fort

1. He should have the fort besieged.
2. And he should have the country around the fort laid waste.
3. And he should have the water-supply of the fort cut off.
4. And he should have the provisions of the fort cut off.
5. And he should have the fort attacked with machines.
6. He should have a trench dug around the fort.
7. And he should have a rampart built around the fort.
8. And he should have a wall built around the fort.
9. And he should have a watch-tower built.
10. And he should have a gate-house built.
11. And he should have a secret path made.
12. And he should have the fort attacked from all sides.
13. And he should have the gates of the fort broken.
14. And he should have the walls of the fort broken.
15. And he should have the watch-towers of the fort demolished.
16. And he should have the houses in the fort set on fire.
17. Thus the work of a siege.
18. He should have the fort stormed.
19. He should have the bravest troops lead the assault.
20. And he should have them equipped with all kinds of weapons and armour.
21. And he should encourage them with gifts and honours.
22. And he should promise them a share of the booty.

23. And he should have the assault made at a time when the enemy is not expecting it.
24. And he should have the assault made from all sides.
25. And he should have the assault made with a great noise.
26. Thus storming the fort.

Chapter 5: The pacification of the conquered territory

1. He should have the conquered territory pacified.
2. He should honour the gods and the Brahmins.
3. And he should give remission of taxes.
4. And he should release the prisoners.
5. And he should help the distressed.
6. And he should honour the virtuous.
7. And he should punish the wicked.
8. And he should follow the customs of the country.
9. And he should not change their laws.
10. And he should not change their language.
11. And he should not change their dress.
12. And he should celebrate their festivals.
13. And he should give gifts to the leaders of the people.
14. And he should have his own virtues proclaimed.
15. And he should have the vices of the enemy king proclaimed.
16. Thus he should win over the people of the conquered territory.
17. He should appoint a governor for the conquered territory.
18. The governor should be a man of high birth, of good character, and of great ability.
19. And he should be loyal to the king.
20. And he should have a strong army.
21. And he should have a full treasury.
22. And he should have a strong fort.
23. And he should have good allies.

24. Thus the pacification of the conquered territory.

BOOK 14: ON SECRET MEANS

Chapter 1: The use of means to injure the enemy

1. He should have the enemy's army injured by means of secret agents.
2. A secret agent should poison the enemy's water-supply.
3. He should poison it with the poison of the madana fruit, or with the poison of the kodrava grain, or with the poison of the śṛṅgī fish, or with the poison of the lāṅgalī plant, or with the poison of the indragopa insect, or with the poison of the karkaṭaka insect, or with the poison of the śatapadī insect, or with the poison of the gṛhagodhikā lizard, or with the poison of the kṛkaṇa insect, or with the poison of the pulāka insect, or with the poison of the śvaviṣṭhā insect.
4. By drinking this water, the men and the animals will become mad.
5. Or he should poison it with a mixture of the powders of the devadālī fruit, the madana fruit, the lāṅgalī plant, and the viṣamuṣṭi plant.
6. By drinking this water, they will die.
7. Or he should poison it with the smoke of a mixture of the powders of the pūtika plant, the kṛtamāla plant, the rājavṛkṣa plant, and the śirīṣa plant.
8. By inhaling this smoke, they will become blind.
9. Or he should have the enemy's camp fumigated with the smoke of a mixture of the powders of the pūtika plant, the kṛtamāla plant, the rājavṛkṣa plant, the śirīṣa plant, the leaves of the aśvattha tree that have been eaten by worms, the dung of a cow, the urine of a horse, the hair of a monkey, the skin of a snake, the bone of a tiger, the bone of an elephant, the bone of a man, and the dung of an ass.
10. By inhaling this smoke, they will die.
11. Or he should have the enemy's camp fumigated with the smoke of a mixture of the powders of the gṛhagodhikā lizard, the kṛkaṇa insect, the pulāka insect, and the śvaviṣṭhā insect.

12. By inhaling this smoke, they will die.
13. Thus the use of means to injure the enemy.

Chapter 2: Wonderful and delusive contrivances

1. He should try to delude the enemy with wonderful and delusive contrivances.
2. A secret agent, in the guise of a god, should appear before the enemy at night.
3. And he should say to him, "I am pleased with you. I shall give you whatever you desire."
4. And he should give him a jewel or an ornament.
5. Or a secret agent, in the guise of an ascetic, should say to him, "I know a spell for making gold. If you perform a sacrifice at night in a lonely place, you will get a lot of gold."
6. And when he comes to the lonely place, he should have him killed.
7. Or a secret agent should make an image of a god with a secret mechanism.
8. And he should make it speak, or laugh, or weep.
9. And he should say to the enemy, "The god is pleased with you," or "The god is angry with you."
10. Or a secret agent should make a fire without fuel.
11. And he should say to the enemy, "This is a divine fire."
12. Or a secret agent should make water flow from a place where there is no water.
13. And he should say to the enemy, "This is a divine water."
14. Or a secret agent should make a tree bear fruit out of season.
15. And he should say to the enemy, "This is a divine fruit."
16. Or a secret agent should make a stone float on water.
17. And he should say to the enemy, "This is a divine stone."
18. Or a secret agent should make a man walk on water.
19. And he should say to the enemy, "This is a divine man."

20. Or a secret agent should make a man walk on fire.
21. And he should say to the enemy, "This is a divine man."
22. Or a secret agent should make a man disappear.
23. And he should say to the enemy, "This is a divine man."
24. Or a secret agent should make a man appear with four arms or four legs.
25. And he should say to the enemy, "This is a divine man."
26. Thus the wonderful and delusive contrivances.

Chapter 3: Remedies against injuries to one's own army

1. He should have his own army protected from the injuries of the enemy.
2. He should have the water-supply of his own camp purified with antidotes.
3. He should have the food of his own camp purified with antidotes.
4. He should have the fodder of his own camp purified with antidotes.
5. He should have the medicine of his own camp purified with antidotes.
6. He should have the perfume of his own camp purified with antidotes.
7. He should have the garland of his own camp purified with antidotes.
8. He should have his own camp protected from fire by means of a trench filled with water.
9. And he should have the houses in his own camp plastered with mud mixed with cow-dung.
10. And he should have recourse to the rites of the Atharva Veda to counteract the magical spells of the enemy.
11. And he should have the enemy's spies caught and killed.
12. Thus the remedies against injuries to one's own army.

BOOK 15: THE METHOD OF THE TREATISE

Chapter 1: The methods of the treatise

1. The thirty-two methods of the treatise are: the statement of the subject, the explanation, the connection, the reason, the inference, the doubt, the

objection, the answer, the direct statement, the indirect statement, the command, the permission, the prohibition, the exception, the general rule, the particular rule, the analogy, the implication, the etymology, the amplification, the brevity, the illustration, the example, the application, the contrary, the preceding, the succeeding, the combination, the alternative, the relation, the purpose, and the conclusion.

2. The statement of the subject is the brief mention of the matter.
3. The explanation is the detailed description of the matter.
4. The connection is the relation of the parts of the matter.
5. The reason is the cause of the matter.
6. The inference is the conclusion from the reason.
7. The doubt is the uncertainty about the matter.
8. The objection is the argument against the matter.
9. The answer is the reply to the objection.
10. The direct statement is the explicit statement of the matter.
11. The indirect statement is the implicit statement of the matter.
12. The command is the order to do something.
13. The permission is the sanction to do something.
14. The prohibition is the order not to do something.
15. The exception is the exclusion from a general rule.
16. The general rule is the statement that applies to all cases.
17. The particular rule is the statement that applies to a specific case.
18. The analogy is the comparison with a similar case.
19. The implication is the meaning that is understood though not stated.
20. The etymology is the derivation of a word.
21. The amplification is the detailed explanation of a brief statement.
22. The brevity is the brief statement of a detailed matter.
23. The illustration is the explanation by means of a story.
24. The example is the explanation by means of a well-known case.
25. The application is the use of a rule in a particular case.

26. The contrary is the statement of the opposite.
27. The preceding is the statement of what comes before.
28. The succeeding is the statement of what comes after.
29. The combination is the joining of two or more things.
30. The alternative is the choice between two or more things.
31. The relation is the connection between two or more things.
32. The purpose is the object of the matter.
33. The conclusion is the final statement of the matter.
34. Thus the thirty-two methods of the treatise.
35. Having reviewed all the sciences and having observed their practical application, this treatise has been composed by Kautilya for the sake of the king.

The End